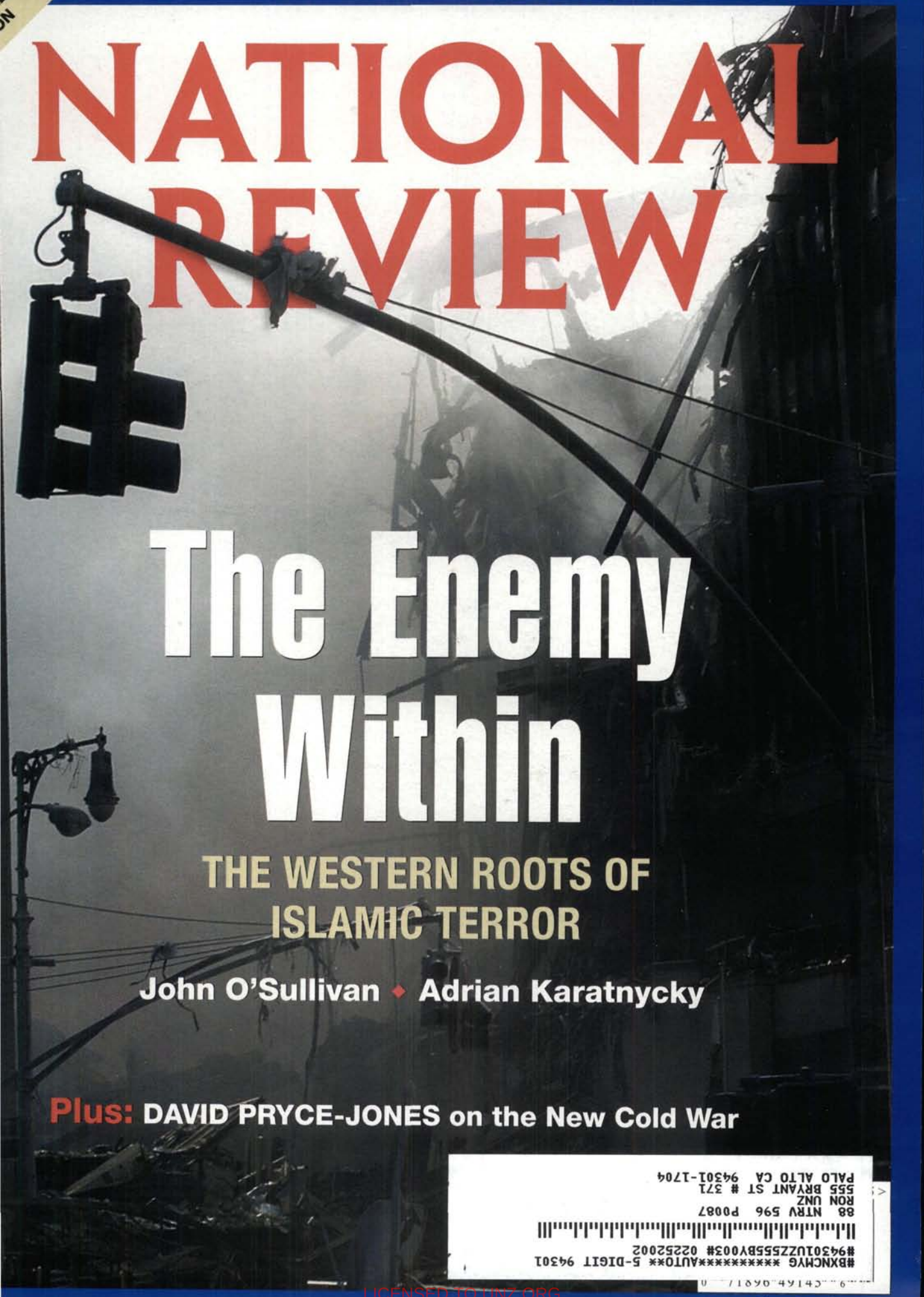
November 5, 2001 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

NATIONAL REVIEW



The Enemy Within

THE WESTERN ROOTS OF ISLAMIC TERROR

John O'Sullivan ◆ Adrian Karatnycky

Plus: DAVID PRYCE-JONES on the New Cold War

#BXNCMYG **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 02252002
88 NTRV 596 P0087
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER 5, 2001 VOL. LIII, NO. 21

ARTICLES

20 What We're Not Fighting For *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
The list includes short skirts, dancing, and secularism.

22 Ayatollah Attitude *by Ray Takeyh*
Iran's place in the new war.

26 Security Blanket *by Byron York*
Will it smother the nation's capital?

29 Your Papers, Please *by John Derbyshire*
Against a national ID card.

31 Playing Nice? *by Kate O'Beirne*
That old devil 'bipartisanship.'

33 Kofi's Hour *by Theodore Dalrymple*
The absurd Nobel Peace Prize.

34 Canines to the Rescue *by Jonah Goldberg*
Best friends, and examples.

38 The New Cold War *by David Pryce-Jones*
Familiar battle lines, unfortunately.

41 Fatal Contact *by John O'Sullivan*
The Western influence on Islamic radicals.

43 Under Our Very Noses *by Adrian Karatnycky*
The terrorist next door.

45 In Castro's Service *by John J. Miller*
The undertold story of Cuba's spying, and terror.

SPECIAL FINANCIAL SECTION

48 The Economic Imperative *by Stephen Moore*
Bush and the Republicans *cannot* let this drop.

50 Gotta Grow *by Lawrence Kudlow*
Taxation in a time of war.

51 You Call This 'Stimulating'? *by Alan Reynolds*
The Democrats' ignorant plan.

Cover: AFP/Timothy A. Clary

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Crisis of the Old Order—*Michael Knox Beran,* **page 56**
The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order, 1964–1980, *by Steven F. Hayward*

Our Gal—*Elizabeth Fox-Genovese,* **page 60**
An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War, *by Midge Decter*

Fog of Wars—*Andrew J. Bacevich,* **page 62**
War in a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals, *by David Halberstam*

Thoroughly Modern Millay—*Jeffrey Hart,* **page 63**
What Lips My Lips Have Kissed: The Loves and Love Poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay, *by Daniel Mark Epstein*

Jackie, Oh!—*Jay Nordlinger on the mezzo-soprano Marilyn Horne's recital/lounge act,* **page 64**

Delectations: Shakespeare, Shaw & Co.—*Linda Bridges on the Shaw and Stratford festivals,* **page 66**

City Desk: Culture Clash—*Richard Brookhiser on New York, the murdered, and the murderers,* **page 67**

SECTIONS

4 Letters
6 For the Record
8 The Week
53 The Long View
54 Help!
62 Poetry
70 On the Right
72 The Misanthrope's Corner

WORLD WIDE WEB
www.nationalreview.com

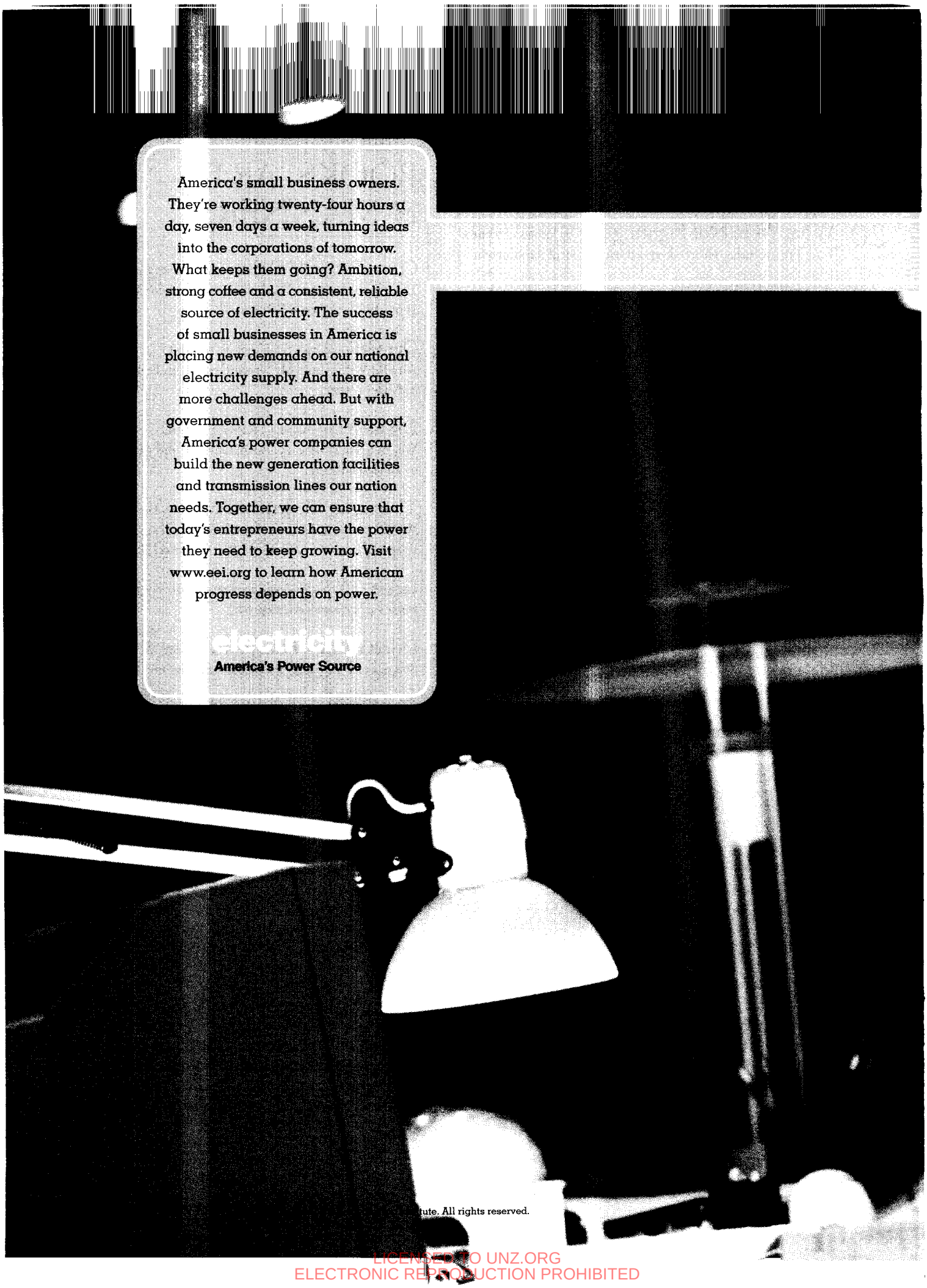
NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

©National Review, Inc., 2001.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

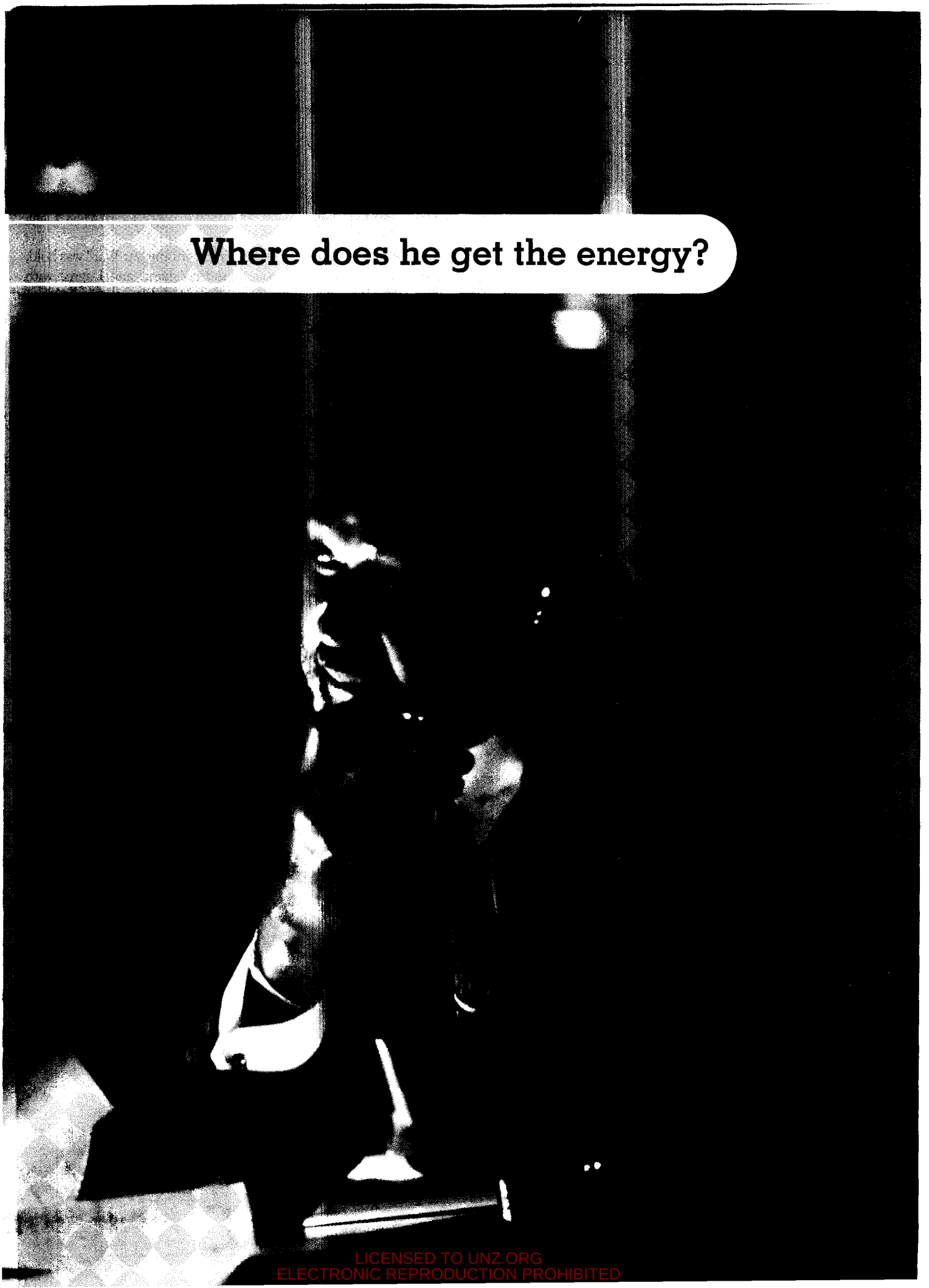
RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


America's small business owners. They're working twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, turning ideas into the corporations of tomorrow. What keeps them going? Ambition, strong coffee and a consistent, reliable source of electricity. The success of small businesses in America is placing new demands on our national electricity supply. And there are more challenges ahead. But with government and community support, America's power companies can build the new generation facilities and transmission lines our nation needs. Together, we can ensure that today's entrepreneurs have the power they need to keep growing. Visit www.eei.org to learn how American progress depends on power.
electricity
America's Power Source

tute. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

November 5 issue; printed October 18

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy
Associate Editors
Emmy Chang / Julie Crane
Kathryn Jean Lopez / Sarah Maserati
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor Elizabeth A. Fitton
Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Melissa A. Seckora / Jane Buckley Smith
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / Linda Bridges
John Derbyshire / W. H. von Dreele
Roman Genn / Jonah Goldberg
John Hillen / Florence King
Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes
Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Priscilla L. Buckley / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Neal B. Freeman / James Gardner
David Gelernter / George Gilder
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
Paul Craig Roberts / Peter W. Rodman
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Vicki Manca
Irina Dynkevich
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Todd Westover
Account Executive Elizabeth Capano
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

In The Week (Oct. 15), you suggest a name for the upcoming war: the "Twin Towers War." The "September 11th War" would be much more effective. We have that date burned in our minds and hearts, and it includes *all* those killed and affected by the four plane crashes.

Jane M. Harrington
St. Davids, Pa.

Given its strategic goal of eviscerating transnational terrorism, and the protracted, circuitous, and covert manner in which this new war must be waged, I submit that a more appropriate name might be the "Gray War." As did the Cold War before it, this name suggests the nature of the conflict, as well as the means by which it will be fought.

David R. Gayvert
Crofton, Md.

Since President Bush asserted that terrorism will end up "in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies," and since the best-known proponent of terrorism is Osama bin Laden, I suggest the "Waste bin War." It summarizes our imperative in Afghanistan, and points to the receptacle into which we will deposit this twisted ideology and all its adherents.

Robert Floyd
Fort Wayne, Ind.

PROPHETS OF DOOM

How angry we get with the Jerry Falwells and the Pat Robertsons of the world ("Hall of Shame," Oct. 15) when they tell us the same things that Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah told the people of Israel in awarding them a share of the blame for disasters that befell them. Rather than reflect objectively on whether these self-appointed prophets of our day have something of value to warn us about, we hurl invective at them, just as the Israelites did to their prophets.

Carver Collins
Kingston, Pa.

THE BLAME GAME

Re your Oct. 1 cover: "The United States is a target because we are powerful, rich, and good." From this one might think that the fault lies with McDonald's or Kentucky Fried Chicken. The plain, unvarnished fact is that the Islamic world hates us because of our support of Israel.

John W. Willis
Costa Mesa, Calif.

Your Oct. 1 editorial "At War" was bold, tough, and poignant, and I agree with your message and sharp tone. However, before we point a finger at allies who do business with rogue governments, shouldn't we first chastise U.S. corporations that do the same?

Rhonda Ford
Huntsville, Ala.

We may be deluding and flattering ourselves if we assume that our enemies hate us because we are good. Arabs, Muslims, Serbs, and others whose countries have been hit by U.S. bombs have real reasons to hate this country.

David R. Prichard
Corvallis, Ore.

A WORD FROM THE LEFT

In his Oct. 15 article "Their Amerika," John O'Sullivan slanders Americans for Democratic Action by stating as fact what he thinks our position on the terrorist attack is. If he had a moment to step out of his stereotyping and look at our website, he would find a ringing condemnation of the attacks.

Would Mr. O'Sullivan be pleased if—because of his name—we assumed him to be either a bomb-throwing member of the IRA or one of the Irish Protestants who attack children on their way to school? That is precisely the kind of rush to judgment that he is indulging in.

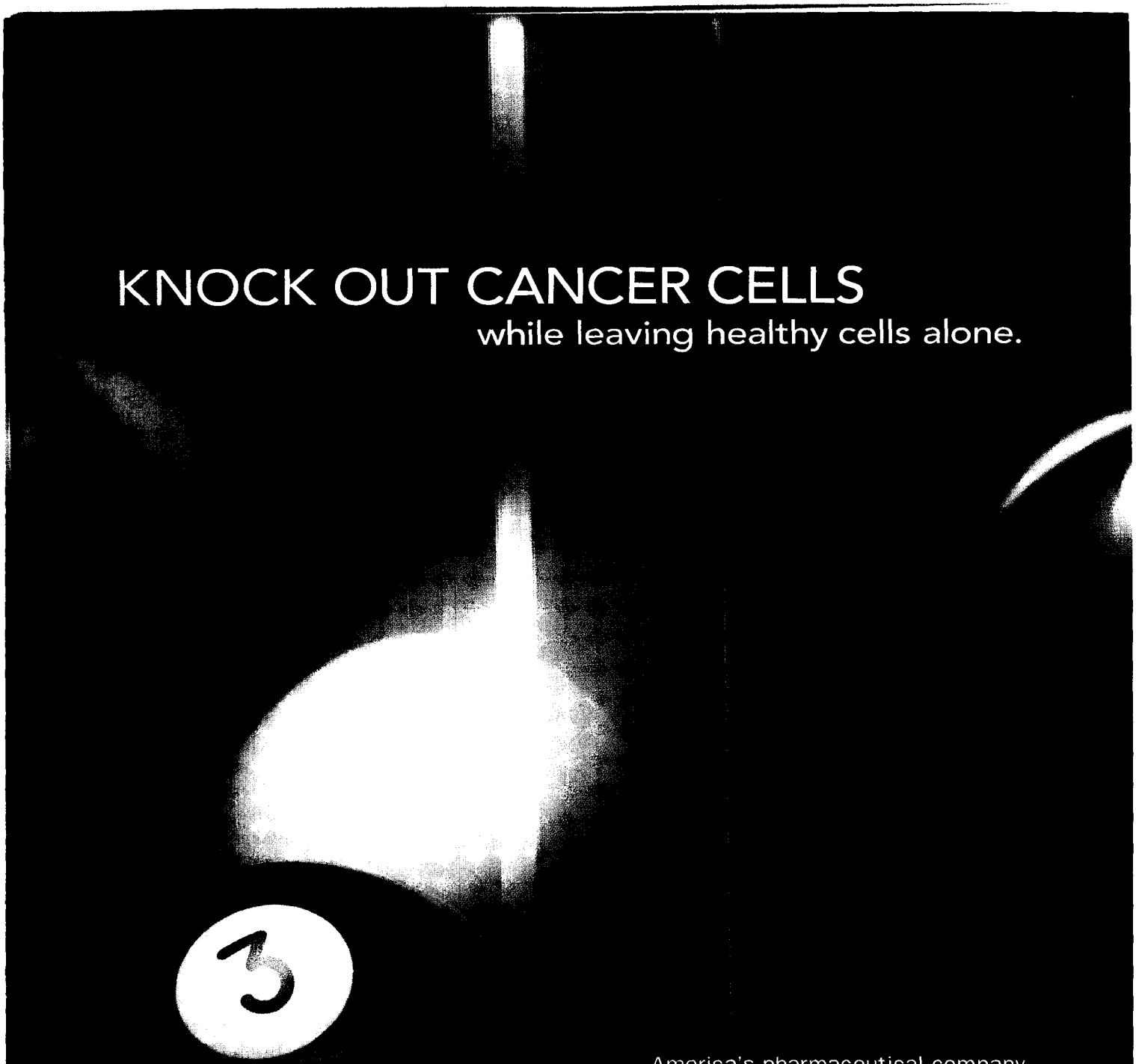
Amy Isaacs
National Director, ADA
Washington, D.C.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN REPLIES: *I am delighted, but not surprised, that ADA officially condemns terrorism; I would expect nothing less. However, my point was about the political culture of its members, and I'd be surprised if views similar to those I criticized were not given an airing by ordinary members of ADA up and down the country. But Ms. Isaacs is still entitled to take pride in the firm and honorable stand of ADA's national organization.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KNOCK OUT CANCER CELLS

while leaving healthy cells alone.



America's pharmaceutical company researchers are creating new "smart" medicines that ignore healthy cells and go straight to the cancer. They're even creating vaccines made from a patient's own tumors to knock out cancer right where it lives. Soon there will be a lot more of these smart medicines. They'll zero in on disease, improve people's lives and give families hope. You can bank on it.

www.newmedicines.org

AMERICA'S PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES
NEW MEDICINES. NEW HOPE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**: "Our nation has experienced one of the darkest moments in our history." . . . "I gave them fair warning and they chose not to heed it." . . . "This will be a long war. It requires understanding and patience from the American people." . . . "I want Congress to hear loud and clear, it is unacceptable behavior to leak classified information when we have troops at risk." . . . Defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld**: "The cruise missiles and bombers are not going to solve this problem." . . . House majority leader **Dick Armey**, on Fox News: "We need to wipe these people out."

■ In CBS News poll, Bush approval rating at 90 percent. . . . GOP pollster **Bill McInturff** says presidential-approval numbers usually fall back to previous position within six months and always within one year. "The historic precedent is that by August of next year, Bush would be about back to where he was before all of this started," he tells *Los Angeles Times*. . . . In CNN/*USA Today* poll, Bush leads unnamed Democratic candidate 54 percent to 29 percent in mock 2004 election. . . . Sen. **Mitch McConnell** (R., Ky.), in *The Hill*: "When you're sitting on 90 percent, there's only one way to go, and that's down." . . . White House chief of staff **Andy Card** discusses Bush, on PBS *NewsHour*: "His intellectual capacity is exceeding all expectations."

■ Attorney general **John Ashcroft**: "We are using every possible avenue to disrupt, interrupt, defer, delay, impede, impair, prevent terrorism in any number of settings." . . . Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor**: "We're likely to experience more restrictions on our personal freedom than has ever been the case in our country." . . . Sen. **Richard Shelby** (R., Ala.) on CIA director **George Tenet**, on *Today*: "I believe the job is getting away from him." . . . Unnamed CIA official on agency hamstrung by rules, in *The New Yorker*: "Are we serious about getting rid of the problem—instead of sitting around making diversity quilts?" . . . "I think that [1998 cruise missile attack] really helped elevate **bin Laden**'s reputation in a big way, building him up in the Muslim world," **Harlan Ullman** of Center for Strategic and International Studies tells *Washington Post*. "My sense is that because the attack was so limited and incompetent, we turned this guy into a folk hero."

■ In Fabrizio, McLaughlin poll, 69 percent support giving Bush authority to order assassination of terrorist leaders. . . . In Gallup poll, 71 percent of blacks favor racial profiling of Arabs at airports, compared to 57 percent of whites. . . . Commission on Civil Rights chairman **Mary Frances Berry** on new discrimination hotline: "I think we ought to be proud to be doing this, rather than consider if it is helping anybody."

"That does it! I'm moving to a state with sensible gun-control laws!"

■ Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.) compares vast right-wing conspiracy to terrorists, in *The New Yorker*: "I am well aware that [anger] is out there. One of the most difficult experiences that I personally had in the White House was during the health-care debate, being the object of extraordinary rage. . . . There were threats that were coming in, and certain people didn't want me to speak, and they started taking weapons off people, and arresting people. I've had firsthand looks at this unreasoning anger and hatred that is focused on an individual you don't know, a cause that you despise—whatever motivates people."

■ Osama bin Laden, in videotaped message released after U.S. strikes in Afghanistan: "There is America, hit by God in one of its softest spots. Its greatest buildings were destroyed, thank God for that. There is America, full of fear from its north to its south, from its west to its east. Thank God for that." . . . Brown University English professor **William Keach**: "What happened on September 11 was terrorism, but what happened during the Gulf War was also terrorism." . . . **Alice Walker** on bin Laden, in *Village Voice*: "What would happen to him if he could be brought to understand the preciousness of the lives he has destroyed? I firmly believe the only punishment that works is love."

■ In House version of $170 billion farm-subsidy bill, horse breeders may seek government loans if at least 30 percent of mares fail to produce healthy foals . . . . Former Rep. **Jim Talent** (R., Mo.) announces he will run against Sen. **Jean Carnahan** (D.). . . . Rep. **Gary Condit** (D., Calif.) begins gathering reelection signatures. . . . Florida secretary of state **Katherine Harris** says she will run for Congress next year. . . . In Field poll, former Los Angeles mayor **Richard Riordan** (R.) leads Gov. **Gray Davis** (D.), 45 percent to 42 percent. . . . **Ronald Reagan** passes **John Adams** as longest-living president. . . . Hudson Institute begins work on new documentary film about fall of Soviet Union. . . . The Middle East Media and Research Institute (www.memri.org) provides translations of the Arabic press.

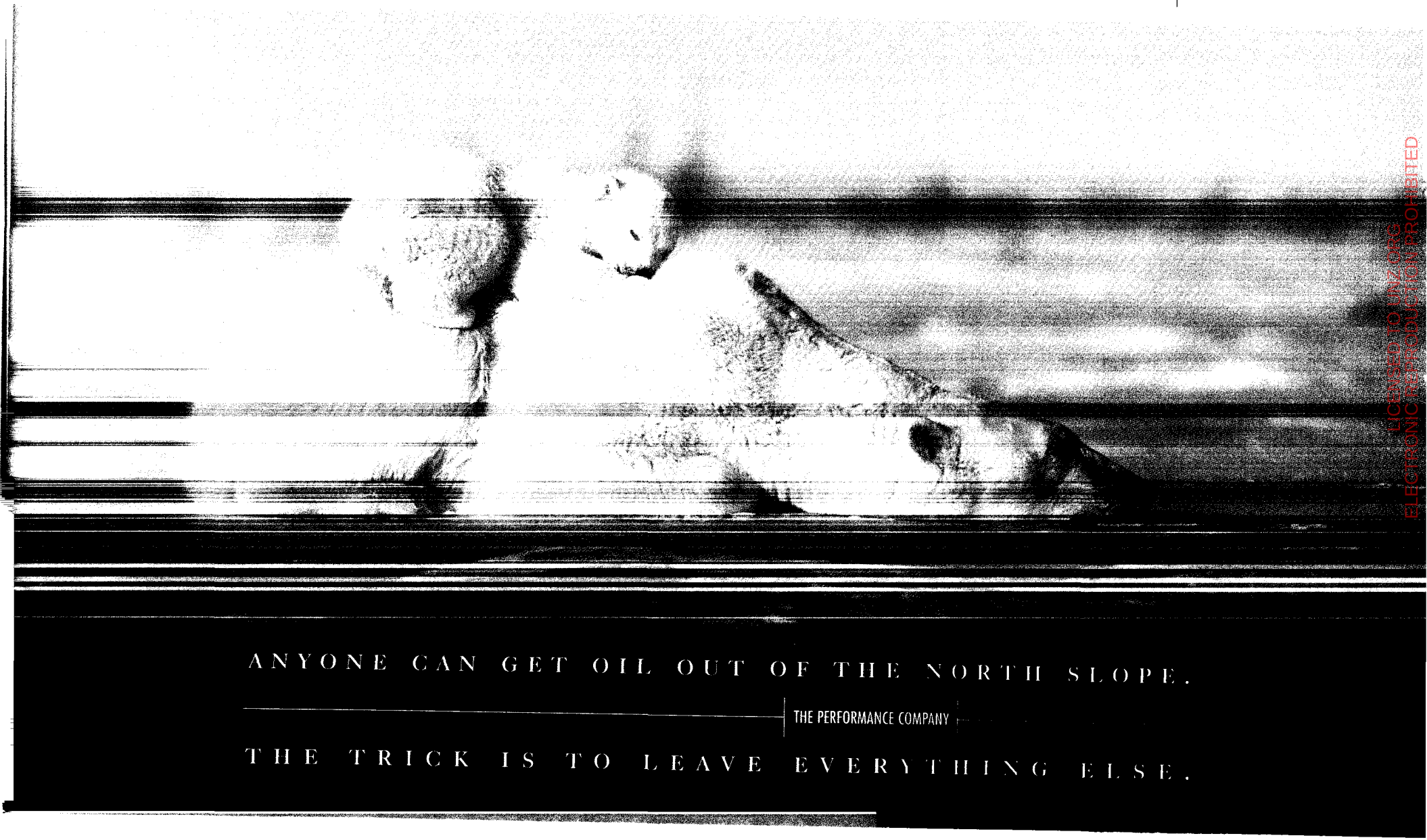
■ Papal spokesman **Joaquin Navarro-Valls**: "The pope is not a pacifist." . . . At former Soviet bioweapons lab in Kazakhstan, U.S. inspection team finds anthrax spores. . . . Ukraine acknowledges hitting Russian airliner with missile by mistake.

■ Character in *New Yorker* cartoon: "Bush is starting to grow on me—sometimes he seems almost actually mayoral." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To go deep into the North Slope where the oil is, you need a lot of heavy equipment and, of course, a road to run it on. So we use the water and ice already there to build one. But long before that, we use infrared technology normally used to monitor pipelines to look for polar bear dens. And when we do find them, we go elsewhere, leaving mothers and cubs snug in their beds. In four months, the cubs venture out. The ice road melts. It's spring in Alaska again. And it's like we've never been there at all. | phillips66.com

PHILLIPS 66



ANYONE CAN GET OIL OUT OF THE NORTH SLOPE.

THE PERFORMANCE COMPANY

THE TRICK IS TO LEAVE EVERYTHING ELSE.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED
LICENSED TO IZ.ORG

THE WEEK

■ Mark Green edged out Fernando Ferrer in the New York mayoral primary—Democratic, of course—but Ferrer demanded a recount, owing to certain ballot irregularities. Okay, let's have a recount: and at the end, can Rudy Giuliani win?

■ The U.S. initially hesitated to bomb the Taliban's front lines north of Kabul, because the Bush administration hadn't fully thought through its campaign before launching it. The administration hoped to loose the military unencumbered by messy political considerations. But no war can be waged without a coherent political strategy, which in this case would have required a clear idea of what might constitute a post-Taliban government. So the administration stalled in destroying the Taliban, while it tried to cobble together some political vessel that would please Pakistan and all of Afghanistan's perpetually warring ethnicities (the majority Pashtuns dominate the Taliban, the minority Uzbeks and Tajiks the Northern Alliance). But there's another, more important consideration: Every day the Taliban remains in power, America's prestige and momentum—in other words, its power—diminishes in the region. The U.S. should topple the Taliban and throw Kabul to the Northern Alliance, for simple lack of an alternative. At least then, justice would be served the Taliban, and the political pieces could be picked up later. Bombs away.

■ "Bipartisanship is abnormal," House minority leader Dick Gephardt said recently. So it is. In the first flush of righteous anger, Congress (with the noxious exception of Rep. Barbara Lee) showed commendable unanimity. That unanimity predictably dissipated. Almost anything can be claimed as vital to our defense. A strong military needs a strong economy: How do we stimulate ours? OPEC oil revenues enrich the bin Ladens of the world: How do we diminish our dependence? But the answers to these questions are not military per se: They vary, according to one's pre–9/11 view of the world. That means they will be the subject of political dispute. Liberal commentators have gotten off to a good start, by accusing Republicans who back tax-rate cuts or the Bush energy plan of unseemly partisanship. (Is the liberals' implicit offer that they will support this war only if conservatives surrender on the domestic front?) Politics will, and should, go on. Conservatives, like liberals, should fight for what they think is right, as both sides keep their eyes on victory in war.

■ U.S. leaders, from President Bush on down, have commendably told Americans not to take their anger out on Arabs or Muslims living in this country. (The two categories are not coterminous—most Muslims in America are black, while most Arabs are Christian.) Would it be too much to ask Muslim Arab-Americans to show a little anger in America's behalf? The trickle of anecdotal evidence, now amounting to a river, suggests that among recent immigrants particularly there is neutrality, and sometimes even sympathy for bin Laden. The abandonment of dual loyalties is part of the assimilating process that all immigrants to America go through. It also matters what the secondary loyalty is to: Middle- and upper-class WASPs felt a tug towards Britain during the two world wars; Jews feel protective of Israel, a friendly democracy. Today, the attractive foreign power is a gang of civilization-hating mass murderers. America is now asking a lot of its citizens. It is not too much to ask its immigrants to assimilate.

■ How ironic that the British prime minister who has been determined to end the century-long special relationship between his country and ours should be giving it such a glorious last hurrah. Tony Blair has dedicated himself to subsuming Britain's sovereignty and identity into a united Europe. But while so many Euros have hemmed and hawed in the present crisis, Blair forthrightly condemned the attacks as unprovoked terror, drew the link between the murderers, bin Laden, and his Taliban hosts, and sent British forces to war alongside Americans. Whatever went before, whatever else happens, we will not forget this, sir.

■ Democrats (and John McCain) want the federal government to take over airport security. But Europe, Japan, and Israel have all found it more effective to put private contractors in charge of security—not least because contractors can be fired if they screw up. In an analysis for the Reason Public Policy Institute, Robert Poole and Viggo Butler point out that what American airports lack, and other countries increasingly have, is a single owner/operator responsible for security. The federal role should be to conduct frequent security tests and to penalize the airports that flunk them. It works in Europe, and it can work here as well—unless, of course, the goal is to increase the public payroll rather than the public safety.

■ The administration appears likely to get most of the law-enforcement powers it wanted from Congress, and a few it didn't. The bill it sought—called the "Patriot Act" in the House, and the "U.S.A. Act" in the Senate—was supposed to aid the fight against terrorism. Some of its provisions would have this hoped-for effect. The House bill, for example, allows the government to exclude members of a terrorist organization from the country (reversing a law Ted Kennedy wrote to help members of the IRA). But many other provisions, especially in the Senate bill, are mischievous. Proposed money-laundering rules would penalize countries whose only fault is to have financial-privacy laws and low taxes. Regulations on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wind for Sale

In the 1850s Chief Seattle suggested that the wind could never be sold. But Seattle never witnessed the new economy. Wind rights are now for sale and they're going fast. Brokers are offering cash to farmers who are willing to plant a crop of wind turbines, and farmers are discovering that investing in wind power can be more profitable than raising traditional crops. In Minnesota, for example, a typical annual harvest nets $40 an acre; a single wind turbine, which takes up about one-eighth of an acre, generates about $2,000 in a year.

Turning wind into power is nothing new. Europeans have been using windmills since the 1500s. Windmills were also used throughout the American West in the early 1900s until the arrival of rural electrification. Modern windmills are once again sprouting up across the United States as wind farms become a viable option for utility companies struggling to meet high demands in the face of rising oil and gas prices.

Much of the growth in wind-produced energy is due to the development of more efficient turbines, making wind power competitive with other energy sources—and more than just a green power fad. Today's turbines have sophisticated sensors and blades that are able to rotate and change direction automatically to capture the most wind. A modern 1.5-megawatt turbine can produce electricity for 3 to 4 cents a kilowatt-hour, which is comparable to coal-fired plants, according to a recent analysis by Stanford University engineers.

In addition to being cost-effective, turbines are environmentally friendly. Wind power produces no air pollution. It does not threaten the earth's climate. It does not deplete our natural resources, and no land must be strip-mined to extract wind.

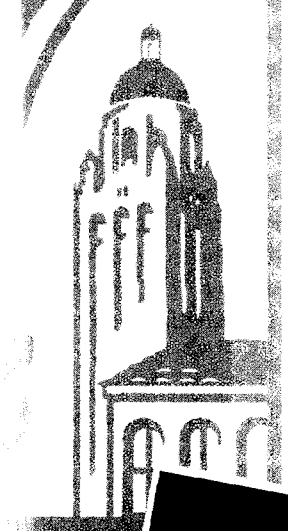
With capacity expected to double in the next year, wind is the nation's fastest-growing source of electricity. According to studies by the Earth Policy Institute, Texas, Kansas, and North Dakota combined have enough wind potential to generate electricity for the entire United States.

But what happens when the wind stops? Until a storage mechanism can be created, utilities are forced to rely on backup power sources. Another obstacle facing wind power is a shortage of adequate transmission lines—a key component in getting energy from rural areas to population centers. New technologies, however, such as the development of compressed-air energy storage and high-voltage transmission lines, are being advanced to overcome these hurdles and help eliminate energy shortages.

Large companies are eager to harness the wind. Shell Oil, for example, recently bought its first wind farm in Wyoming. Landowners are also eager to collect wind royalties—especially farmers who can continue to farm with turbines on their property. As Pat Wood, President Bush's appointee to the Federal Energy Regulation Commission, observed, **"We've got lots of wind and it's about time that people figured out a way to make some money off it."**

Energy policy for the twenty-first century should take into account emerging technological advances in wind power and other alternative energy sources. If wind power is cleaner than and as cheap as coal-fired power plants, then perhaps the answer to our energy crisis is blowing in the wind.

— Laura E. Huggins



Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Internet gambling, meanwhile, have nothing to do with fighting terrorism. Before the bill is rushed through Congress, these provisions should be taken out. They can be reconsidered at leisure.

■ After *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward nearly reported classified information passed on to him by a loose-lipped senator—administration officials persuaded Woodward's editors not to print it—President Bush responded by announcing new restrictions on briefings for members of Congress. His pique was understandable; it was only a few hours after the terrorist strikes when Orrin Hatch went on television to reveal details he had obtained from the CIA and FBI. Several senators nevertheless accused Bush of overreaching. If they are serious about their responsibilities, however, they should take up Joe Lieberman's suggestion and launch an investigation into which of their colleagues actually leaked the secrets. By holding the leaker accountable, they would demonstrate that Bush need not worry about sharing information because they are capable of policing themselves.

■ Vladimir Putin has more responsibility than anyone in Washington for the happiest piece of recent economic news: The price of oil is plunging, not least because Russia is flouting OPEC demands to cut production. America should do what it can to encourage the Russians, and other oil producers, to break up OPEC. The American economy is not "too dependent on oil," as popular wisdom has it—it's too dependent on oil sold at state-cartel prices. This price-gouging swells the coffers of Arab governments that already loom too large in the lives of their people. Indirectly, it funds terrorism. We should aim for a free market in oil as a matter of foreign as well as economic policy.

■ Doctors Without Borders is criticizing America's food drops into Afghanistan as "a military propaganda operation." Some reporters have bought the spin. On NBC, Matt Lauer challenged a general once engaged in this kind of activity to deny that "you're, in effect, sending U.S. propaganda into those areas." On the outside of each package are the words, "This is a food gift from the people of the United States of America." That may be propaganda, but it's also what the food drops are. Is it the critics' position that America should provide food only when it poses no risk of making people like us?

■ Anti-Iraq hawks took heart when President Bush called Saddam Hussein an "evil man" at his recent press conference. Bush was right, if incomplete. Saddam is part of an evil *regime*. Bush, by raising a demand for renewed weapons inspections, pointed the way toward a possible "second phase" effort to topple that regime: an ultimatum built around various U.N. resolutions, demanding new, wide-open inspections and the extradition of all terrorists now in Iraq. Foremost among these terrorists is Abdul Rahman Yasin, who made our 22-most-wanted list for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. It would be an offer that Saddam would probably feel compelled to refuse, which is all the more reason to make it.

■ In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee sped through the nomination of John Negroponte to be U.N. ambassador. Democrats had been holding it up in retaliation for Negroponte's having been an ambassador in Central America during the Reagan years. At Turtle Bay, Negroponte has already been doing his usual quiet, effective job, telling the Iraqis in no uncertain terms to behave. So, that's one nomination down, one, very important, nomination to go. The other is that of Otto Reich, to be assistant secretary of state for the Western Hemisphere. He, too, is being held up—mainly by Sen. Christopher Dodd and one old leftist Latin America warrioress who is a staffer of his—for having been a Reaganite in Central America. It would be good for the administration, and for Secretary Powell in particular, to tell the committee: No more games. The conduct of foreign policy is serious business—and we need our nominees in place.

■ A Saudi prince contributed $10 million to Mayor Giuliani's 9/11 fund, then gave the media the benefit of his thoughts about terror and Palestine. The mayor handed back the check with the observation that what the donor had said was part of the problem. Princes out there come by the thousand, but there are even more palaces than princes. Liberty, equality, and fraternity are concepts yet to reach Saudi Arabia. Aramco and Wall Street do all the work to keep the princes in a style to which the desert sands have not accustomed them. The American military stands between them and the neighbors, Saddam on one side and the ayatollahs on the other. In this home of double standards, these same princes also specialize in financing fanatical Muslims, the Taliban included; they hinder the detection of killers of American troops at Khobar, and although they declare Osama bin Laden a renegade Saudi they still deny the United States use of facilities against him. Thousands of princes, but it took Mayor Giuliani to teach them what a spine is.

■ Syria is one of seven states on the State Department's terror list. The murderous Palestinian Abu Nidal and a dozen other terror groups find shelter and sponsorship there. The Arabs lobbied, and Syria is the latest newcomer to the Security Council of the United Nations. And so the lunatics keep running the asylum.

■ Numbered among the world's Muslims are the Uighur people of Central Asia. Subjects—though always difficult and restive ones—of the Manchu empire, the Uighurs enjoyed a brief independence in the 1940s before their Eastern Turkestan Republic was crushed in a joint operation by Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Their land now shows on maps as the "Xinjiang" region of China's far west. Like other Turkish and Turkic peoples, the Uighurs take their Islam in a mild form for the most part, and generate few extremists. Their independence movement has a strong constitutionalist component, with a vigorous and growing corps of educated émigrés trying to arouse the world's conscience to the plight of their people under Chinese Communist rule. Nonetheless, China's foreign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The James Bond First Edition Library

© FEL

A dazzling new printing of the original British First Editions.

Bond...James Bond. The greatest spy in history. The man who single-handedly saved the world from the evil empires of SMERSH and SPECTRE. Now, you can own exact replicas of all 14 of the original Ian Fleming British First Editions that established Bond's reputation.

These stunning books are among the most prized first editions of this century. A British First Edition of *Casino Royale*—published before "007" and "licensed to kill" became household words—recently sold for $15,400!

The greatest spy stories ever written. Rediscover all the thrilling adventures exactly as they first appeared—*Dr. No... Goldfinger...From Russia, with Love... Moonraker...The Spy Who Loved Me... On Her Majesty's Secret Service...Casino Royale...Thunderball...Diamonds Are Forever...Octopussy...For Your Eyes Only...Live and Let Die...The Man With The Golden Gun...You Only Live Twice.*

Fight monstrous Bond villains—Dr. No...Largo...Goldfinger. Succumb to alluring temptresses—Kissy Suzuki... Honeychile Rider...Pussy Galore.

Exact reproductions in deluxe editions.

Each volume is an exact replica of the First Edition: same size, same cover design, same exotic dust jacket. Unlike the originals, each volume is printed on archival, acid-neutral paper to last for generations. And each volume is handsomely slipcased to protect the historic dust jacket.

Your first volume for just $4.50.

If you respond to this offer now, you can receive your first volume for only $4.50—the original hardcover price when the books were published in America. If you like the book, you'll be set to receive the remaining 13 volumes in convenient monthly shipments. Pay for just one book per month at the regular subscription rate of $29.95, plus shipping and handling. Return any book you don't like, and cancel at any time.

Remember—diamonds may be forever, but this offer won't be. Place your order today!

CALL TOLL FREE:
1-800-367-4534

RESERVATION APPLICATION

The First Edition Library
88 Long Hill Cross Road
Shelton, Connecticut 06484

The James Bond First Edition Library

Please send me my first volume in *The James Bond First Edition Library* at the special introductory price of $4.50 and reserve a collection in my name as described in this announcement. I understand that there is never an obligation to purchase and that either party may cancel at any time.

326-103

Name _____
Please print clearly.

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders are subject to acceptance.)

You need send no money now.

You will be billed with shipment for the book at $4.50, plus $4.25 shipping and handling and any applicable sales tax. Higher shipping and handling outside the U.S. Prices are shown in U.S. funds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao has asked the U.S. to "give its support and understanding" to China in her own "fight against terrorism *and separatists*" (our italics). Translation: The constitutional patriots struggling for the independence of Eastern Turkestan are no better than Osama bin Laden in the eyes of China's Communists, and they expect the U.S. to assist in the isolation and destruction of these "separatists." This is the thin end of a very nasty wedge: Think Tibet and Taiwan. We understand that the president wants, and perhaps even needs, China's support in the struggle to come, but the price currently being asked for that support is too high.

■ Thirty-two years after Harvard banned the ROTC from its campus, a petition has been organized to bring it back. Nine hundred signatures have been gathered from the school's alumni, including those of Caspar Weinberger and Staples founder Leo Kahn. Interest in the ROTC has surged since September 11 at colleges around the country, and such high-school JROTC programs as still exist are also being barraged with inquiries from students. Here is an opportunity to undo one of the more unfortunate legacies of the Vietnam era. The prospect of the withdrawal of federal funding has been used by the political Left for all kinds of social-engineering schemes at America's schools. Why not use it for something that might help and strengthen our nation? No more federal funds to any educational institution that denies facilities to ROTC/JROTC.

■ Doctors writing in the October issue of the medical journal *Pediatrics* call on their colleagues to pay careful attention to "Islamic ethics" when treating Muslim patients. Islam, they explain, forbids premarital sex. Muslims believe life begins at conception, so they consider abortion to be murder. Sound familiar? These are exactly the beliefs that are denigrated and ignored when they are held by non-Muslims, with some states even considering laws that would force Catholic-run hospitals to perform abortions. Multiculturalism, obviously, has its limits.

■ Do the words "God Bless America" constitute "a hurtful, divisive message"? So says the ACLU, which is considering legal action against Breen Elementary School in Rocklin, Calif., for posting the phrase on a marquee. Later, the school board of Madison, Wis., voted to ban the reciting of the Pledge of Allegiance and the singing of the Star-Spangled Banner; instead, students would merely listen to an instrumental version of the anthem. Board president Calvin Williams said the intent was "to protect our students' and staff's individual right to participate or not in the activity." If so, however, the board's move was redundant: Wisconsin law had already specified that both the singing and the pledging had to be strictly voluntary. When outraged residents began agitating to recall the board members, most hurriedly recanted, reversing the decision a week later. We are tempted to cite the wisdom of Mark Twain—"God made the Idiot for practice, and then He made the School Board"—but presumably the ACLU would find that hurtful and divisive.

■ What to read? The question is always important, but perhaps particularly now, and NR has indeed been asked by readers to recommend a few, illuminating books. We herewith oblige. First, try anything by Bernard Lewis, dean of Middle East scholars, perhaps especially his *Middle East, Islam and the West*, and *Semites and Anti-Semites*. Then, two books by the brave and invaluable Kanan Makiya: *Cruelty and Silence* and *Republic of Fear* (the latter of which is about Saddam Hussein's Iraq). We also suggest Fouad Ajami's *Dream Palace of the Arabs*, Wilfred Cantwell Smith's *Islam in Modern History*, and Daniel Pipes's *Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy*. Conor Cruise O'Brien's *The Siege*, about Israel, is a grand old book. And we must not fail to include our own David Pryce-Jones's brilliant study: *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*. Last, those with a historical bent might like to revisit T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* and Charles M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. All of that should hold one.

■ Why is Rush Limbaugh a national treasure? Because of his opinions—a funny, feisty, contrarian shot to the mainline, around the good grey ladies and the pink ladies and the old ladies who dispense liberalism in the mainstream media. And because of his stylistic verve—a dash of the great sports broadcaster Harry Caray, a speck of rock 'n' roll DJs, and a barrel of his own outsized personality. Now the double star of a political movement and a medium has announced that he is "for all practical purposes deaf." His ailment has had a rapid onset, and may be irreversible. Will this mean dead air for Limbaugh? Jack Swanson, a San Francisco programmer, disagreed: "People said that a nationally syndicated radio show would never work, that an all-conservative radio show would never work, that having a talk show that rarely had guests would never work. So there are people who now say that because Rush is deaf, it'll never work. I'm not one of those people." Millions of us dittoheads wish him well—and hope he finds a way to keep up the magnificent work.

■ *God and Man at Yale*, by William F. Buckley Jr., was published 50 years ago, October 1951, in time for Yale's 250th anniversary. Yale's celebrations of its 300th anniversary (including recognition of Buckley, among other prominent alumni) did not mention his first book. Time has indeed moved on. Today, when small government or Christianity seldom wins even a fair hearing on a major campus, to argue that these creeds should be favored by the trustees, administration, and faculty seems positively quaint. The men who led the United States to victory in World War II had, of course, been educated under a different dispensation from ours. In the present world war, our elites must regard their college education as four-year vacations from the civilization they must now defend.

■ San Francisco outfielder Barry Bonds, heretofore famous for his surly attitude and dangly earrings, hit 73 home runs. Baseball wonks will argue about the deeper meaning of the number: Did Bonds have one of the greatest seasons since Babe Ruth, or were his home runs the product of the game's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A world of ideas on public policy.

Are Innovative Medicines Worth the Higher Price?

by Frank R. Lichtenberg

The cost of prescription drugs has helped to lift healthcare reform to the top of the policy agenda in the U.S. Congress and state governments. Higher spending on innovative medicines has led some legislators to advocate restrictive Medicaid formularies, reimportation of low-priced drugs from abroad, and even explicit price controls on pharmaceuticals. But policymakers don't always consider whether the benefits of new medicines outweigh their higher prices. Fortunately, sound quantitative analysis exists to help answer this important question.

It's true that spending in the United States on prescription drugs has grown dramatically in recent years. Previous studies have shown that the replacement of older drugs by newer, more expensive ones is the single most important reason for this increase. However, those studies did not examine the extent to which price differences between new and old drugs reflect changes in quality. Newer medicines tend to be more effective than older ones in treating the same medical condition.

In a recent study, I analyzed prescribed-medicine data from the 1996 Medical Expenditure Panel Survey (MEPS) to examine the effect of drug age – i.e., the number of years since the drug's active ingredient was first approved by the Food and Drug Administration – on mortality, morbidity, and total medical expenditure. The MEPS is a nationally representative survey of healthcare use, expenditures, sources of payment, and insurance coverage for the U.S. civilian non-institutionalized population.

The MEPS data allow us to control for many important attributes of the individual patient, his or her medical condition, and the prescription. These attributes include sex, age, education, race, income, insurance status, the payer for the drug, the medical condition for which the drug

Newer drugs offer not only health benefits to patients, but also long-run fiscal benefits to public health service

was prescribed, the duration of the condition, and the number of conditions reported by the patient. Indeed, the fact that many individuals in the sample had multiple medical conditions and multiple prescriptions means that we can control for all individual characteristics, both observed and unobserved.

The results of the analysis strongly support the hypothesis that the use of newer rather than older drugs reduces mortality (i.e., death of the patient), morbidity (i.e., loss of workdays), and total medical expenditure. Although the mortality rate in the MEPS sample is quite low, I found that people consuming new drugs were significantly less likely to die by the end of the survey than were people consuming older drugs. This result is consistent with previous studies showing a highly significant positive relationship across diseases between mortality reduction and the use of new pharmaceuticals. As to morbidity, I found that people consuming new drugs were significantly less likely to miss work or school days than people consuming old drugs, although the estimated effect was not very large.

The study also demonstrates that the use of newer drugs tends to reduce all types of non-drug medical expenditure, with inpatient hospital spending (the most costly type) showing by far the largest reduction. The data indicate that use of newer drugs is associated with shorter (and therefore less expensive), as well as fewer, hospital stays. The total estimated reduction in non-drug expenditure from using newer rather than older drugs is almost four times as large as the increase in drug expenditure. Consequently, using newer drugs results in a substantial net reduction in the total cost of treating the condition.

It's not surprising that policymakers focus their efforts to control public healthcare expenditure on drug spending. The costs of pharmaceuticals (and changes in those costs) are visible to the naked eye, while those in other segments of the healthcare system are hidden. As the MEPS analysis shows, innovative medicines are more cost-effective than older alternatives. Newer drugs offer not only health benefits to patients, but also long-run fiscal benefits to public health services. Identification of those benefits requires careful analysis of good data. It's vital that public officials making drug policy decisions consider the full range of benefits, not just the costs, of newer drugs.

Frank R. Lichtenberg is Courtney C. Brown Professor of Business at Columbia University, and Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. *This piece is based on Dr. Lichtenberg's article entitled " The Benefits and Costs of Newer Drugs: Evidence From the 1996 Medical Expenditure Panel Survey." The full article, which appeared in the September/October 2001 issue of Health Affairs, can be found at http://www.healthaffairs.org.*

PFIZER FORUM IS AN ADVERTISING SERIES SPONSORED IN THE INTEREST OF ENCOURAGING PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON POLICY QUESTIONS AND FEATURING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS FROM LEADING POLICY EXPERTS. PFIZER IS A RESEARCH BASED, GLOBAL PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANY. PFIZER INC, 235 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 10017-5755 USA. HTTP://WWW.PFIZER.COM

Pfizer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recent grade inflation? The rest of us can afford to sit out this debate and simply marvel, at an awesome feat of athletic prowess accomplished under great pressure.

■ Herblock, the *Washington Post* columnist who died at age 91, showed a flash of talent in the early Fifties when hatred of Sen. McCarthy set his juices flowing, but, by the endgame of his career (e.g., the last 25 years or so) he was among the worst editorial cartoonists in America. He had no visual imagination. A few simple symbols, plainly rendered, constituted his toolbox. He moved them about with the gravity of a child playing with dolls, though without the child's freshness. And despite the large swatches of text he stapled onto his impoverished compositions, he had no literary skills. An entire era of innovations in cartooning, from Jeff MacNelly on the op-ed pages to the stinking swamps of the underground press, simply passed him by. It is a lucky thing that he was well rewarded in his lifetime (three Pulitzers), since history will not remember him.

THE MIDDLE EAST

State of Refusal

PRESIDENT BUSH joins a long list of people who have kicked around the idea of a Palestinian state, only to be kicked by it in return. The United Nations partitioned British-held Palestine into Jewish and Palestinian states as long ago as 1947, but the Arabs said no. Between then and the Six Day War of 1967, Egypt and Jordan were responsible for Palestinians, but said no again to statehood for them. Everyone then spent years in search of a yes, however small, from the Palestinians themselves. At Camp David last year, Yasser Arafat on their behalf pronounced the most thumping of noes. Since when, it has been intifada and suicide bombers without interruption. Arafat and assorted Islamic fanatics are presently in competition to see who can kill the most Jews. The latest victim is Israeli cabinet member Rechavam Zeevi.

Israel has been at its wit's end to extract the missing yes in some form or another. Israel created the Palestine Authority that today is Arafat's fiefdom, and would willingly grant it statehood. But on one condition: that this state provide concrete evidence that it has the resolve and the rule of law indispensable to peaceful coexistence.

President Bush understands that security is a life-and-death issue for Israel. But how to put it lastingly in place on the ground? A state is supposed to be able to convert the Palestinians to peace, but there cannot be peace until the Palestinians have a state. The chase for the elusive yes has become one of those circular arguments that do not distinguish between cause and effect.

In the end—the very long delayed end—a state of Palestine may be the right solution. The practical difficulties nevertheless are enormous—several Arab countries might well go on saying no. The time for Bush and others to experiment is after the defeat of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein and anyone else who incites the Palestinians against Israel in pursuit of selfish ambitions. Only after the Palestinians have acted in their own interests and given an unqualified yes to peaceful coexistence can their emerging state be considered on its merits. Speculating—or even worse, temporizing—now over Palestinian statehood will be interpreted all over the Arab and Muslim world as a sycophantic bid for friendship, therefore a sign of weakness, and a good reason to rush out to the nearest anti-American demonstration.

Without Israeli approval and ratification, Palestinian statehood must remain notional. For the administration to spend political capital on the question at this moment, when Palestinian factions are competing to kill Jews, is to oblige Israel either to ensure that any Palestine state is stillborn, or else consent to running its own existential risk. That's a no-win choice for everyone.

THE HOME FRONT

On Being Alert

ONCE AGAIN, the bin Ladenite murderers have done us an unintentional favor. September 11 at least had the effect of showing that we were in a war, and who our enemies were. The anthrax scare has given us a dry run for biological assault.

Anthrax is low on the list of deadly diseases. It can be cured with antibiotics, and it is not contagious. The means used to spread the anthrax—letters to media outlets and Congress, and perhaps even the Capitol Hill ventilation system—were thus relatively small bore. The terrorists of September 11 were investigating crop-duster planes, which would have provided greater distribution. It is possible that some of the letters are the work of sickos and copycats—though Iraq's researches into anthrax and the fine grain of the most recent spores make Baghdad a likely supplier.

The federal government needs more vaccines available, not just for anthrax, but for smallpox, which has true plague potential. This must be a top priority for the director of Homeland

REWARD YOURSELVES

What a difference a month makes, ye gods!
Mr. Bush, who'd been lumped with the clods
By the liberal media, now
Throws a bone when the pundits kow-tow.
Though it isn't for always (what is?),
As the plaudits continue to fizz
And the Times*—the New York one—applauds,*
Have some sherry and brie at Aunt Maud's.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Security, Tom Ridge. These days all his priorities are top. That is the nature of crises; it is the business of directors to manage them.

The administration must also give thought to the psychological dimension of our defenses. It is easy to understand why the FBI issued an open-ended warning that something could happen, perhaps around October 14. If they were telling local law enforcement, they had to tell the public too (news might leak, and if something had happened without a general warning, there would have been hell to pay). But people cannot simply be plunged into a void of anxiety. The chain of command, from President Bush on down, has to say that we are at war, and under continuous threat; that there will be special warnings from time to time, specific or general, depending on the information available; and that, in the case of a general alert, everyone should be aware of suspicious packages, vehicles, and people, and report them to the local police. Meanwhile, everyone should continue with his life. This is the meaning of alertness—being aware of dangers, while not giving in to fear.

The anthrax scare should make the administration more inclined to cast as wide a net as possible in the war on terrorism, lest we leave the threat alive. For the rest of us, the best response is to go out and have a drink. Remember that the zealot in his cave has a lot more to fear than we do.

THE ECONOMY

Empty Treasury

If Republicans have a coherent economic policy, they are hiding it well. They have spent most of the year making Keynesian arguments for watered-down supply-side measures. Thus the tax cut passed this spring was supposed to "put money in people's pockets" to be spent. When Democrats correctly pointed out that cutting tax rates effective in 2006 would not in fact lead to a spending boom, the Republicans were forced to agree to a tax rebate. The importance of improving incentives to work, save, and invest was lost.

The House Republicans' stimulus bill is the same conceptual morass. It accelerates the date at which the spring tax cuts become effective—but not for the top brackets, lest Democrats balk. It cuts the capital-gains tax rate by a puny two points. And it includes another round of tax rebates.

The Bush administration has largely been AWOL during this debate, except to insist on bipartisanship now that we are at war. What's the risk of making its case? That Democrats will stop supporting the war because they dislike Republican economic policy? It's an unlikely prospect, and one for which the voters would punish the offending party soon enough. The administration may hope that the economy will recover on its own, and the drop in oil prices and interest rates certainly makes that a possibility. But since Congress is going to pass a stimulus, the administration should shape that stimulus to be effective.

In any case, the administration lacked a coherent economic message before either the terrorist attacks or the drop in oil prices. Part of the trouble is that the man who should be its voice on economic matters, Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill, is manifestly unsuited to the job. He spent the first months of his tenure trying to improve worker safety and office cleanliness at Treasury—when he wasn't trying to get Bush to regulate carbon-dioxide emissions. In congressional testimony, he undercut the administration's pitch for tax cuts. He has been a force within the administration for rebates. Rather than constructive action, all conservatives have gotten from O'Neill is pie-in-the-sky talk about abolishing the corporate income tax.

When President Bush nominated him, he said O'Neill was "a steady voice," someone "who can calm people's nerves, calm the markets." Instead, the secretary's most notable effect on the markets has been to roil them with ill-considered remarks about the dollar. One journalist concluded of O'Neill that "if he can't learn to keep his lips buttoned and continues his gaffe-prone ways, he risks being branded permanently as a buffoon." And that journalist was one of O'Neill's *defenders*. At a moment of economic difficulty, we have a Treasury secretary who inspires confidence neither on Wall Street nor in Washington. O'Neill should go.

IN STOCKHOLM

The Right Choice

Like the great masters of the past, V. S. Naipaul tells stories which show us ourselves and the reality we live in. His use of language is as precise as it is beautiful. Simple strong words, with which to express the humanity of everyone.

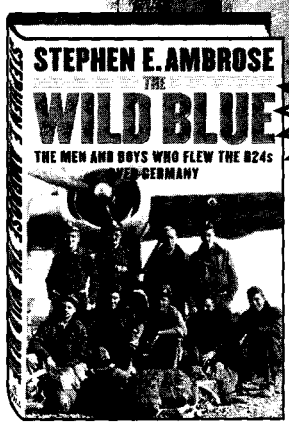
Born in Trinidad in 1932, the descendant of indentured laborers shipped from India, this dispossessed child of the Raj has come on a long and marvelous journey. His upbringing familiarized him with every sort of deprivation, material and cultural. A scholarship to Oxford took him to Britain. Nothing sustained him afterward except the determination, often close to despair, to become a writer. Against all likelihood, a spirit of pure comedy flows through his early books. It is a saving grace.

Footloose, he began to travel for long periods in India and Africa. It was at a time of decolonization, when so many people the whole world over had to reassess their identity. Naipaul saw for himself the resulting turmoil of emotions, that collision of self-serving myth and guilt which make up today's bewildered world and prevent people from coming to terms with who they really are, and from knowing how to treat one another. On these travels he was exploring nothing less than the meaning of culture and history.

Victimhood might have been his central theme, given his background. Not at all. That same determination to be a writer also liberated him from self-pity. Each one of us, his books declare, can choose to be a free individual. It is a matter of will and choice, and above all intellect. Critics have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War, Politics, Religion, and Culture. A world of history. All in one place.

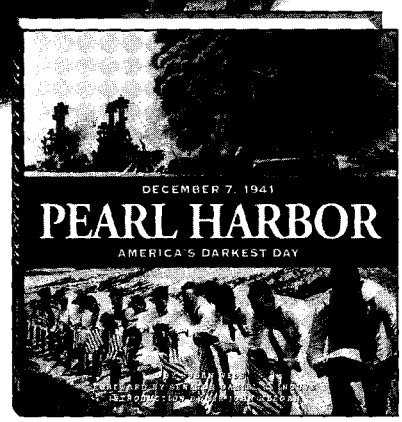


62-5107
Pub. price $26

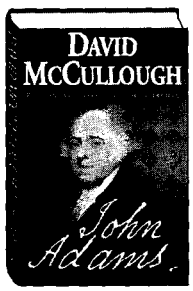
FREE online access to the Oxford English Dictionary (See details on coupon)

TAKE 4 BOOKS FOR $1 EACH

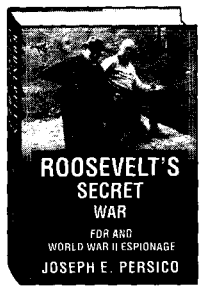
WITH MEMBERSHIP



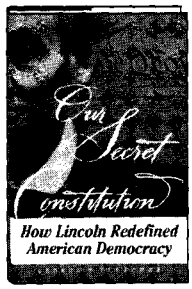
91-8527
Pub. price $34.95



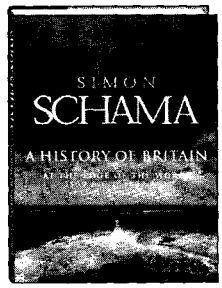
41-8340
Pub. price $35



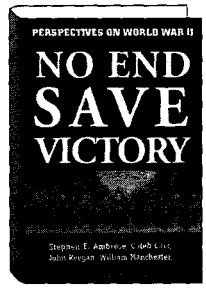
33-0623
Pub. price $35



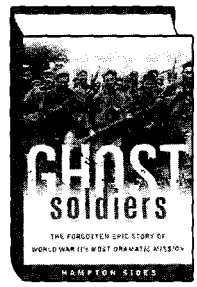
71-9772
Pub. price $25



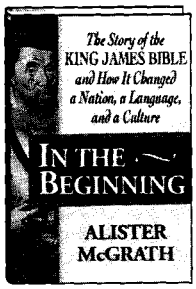
61-0446
Pub. price $40



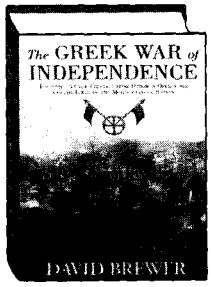
81-5656
Pub. price $32.50



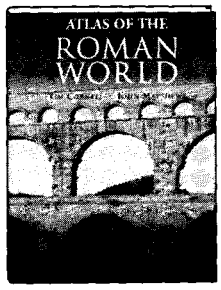
61-8963
Pub. price $24.95



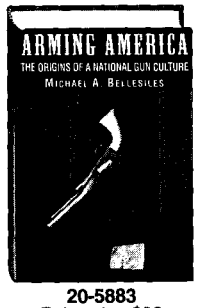
21-9643
Pub. price $24.95



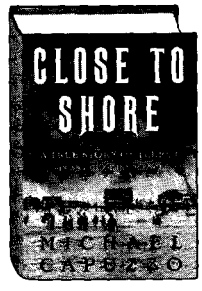
62-6289
Pub. price $35



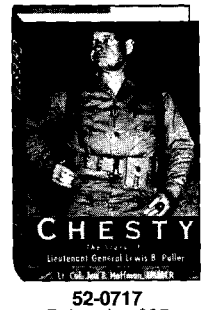
31-9372
Pub. price $45



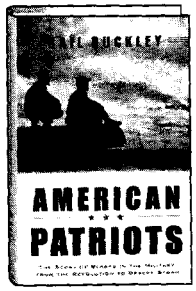
20-5883
Pub. price $30



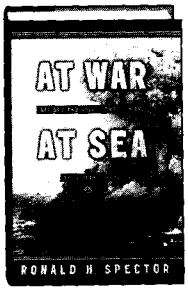
01-8959
Pub. price $24.95



52-0717
Pub. price $35

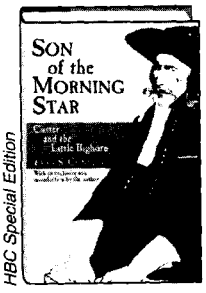


82-1924
Pub. price $29.95

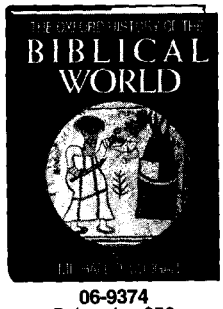


21-8843
Pub. price $29.95

HBC Special Edition

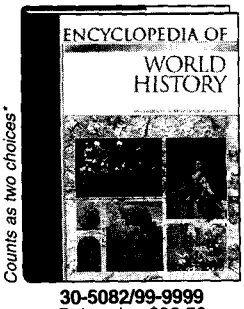


42-0625
Price $24.99

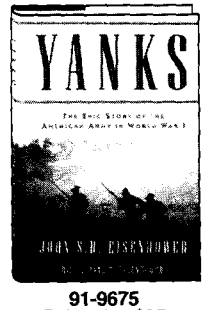


06-9374
Pub. price $50

Counts as two choices*

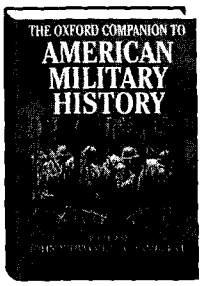


30-5082/99-9999
Pub. price $93.50

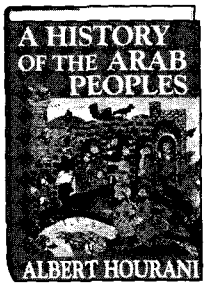


91-9675
Pub. price $35

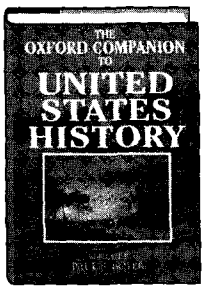
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



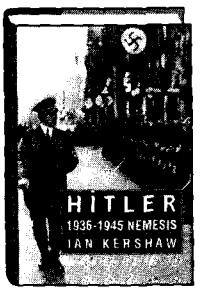
50-4374
Pub. price **$60**



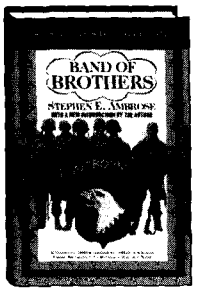
38-0446
Pub. price **$38.50**



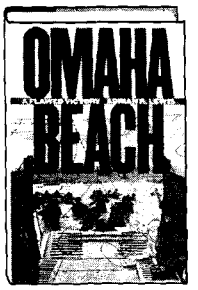
51-7442
Pub. price **$60**



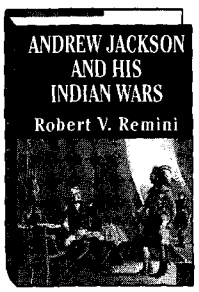
40-8648
Pub. price **$35**



22-5111
Pub. price **$25**

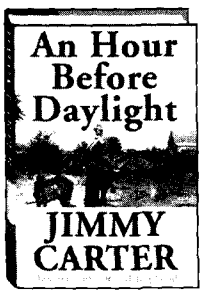


91-8303
Pub. price **$34.95**

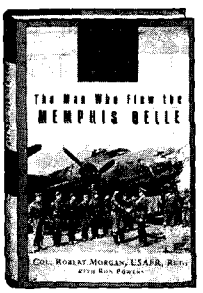


81-8650
Pub. price **$26.95**

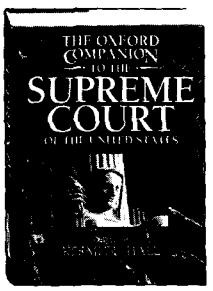
71-9135
Pub. price **$35**



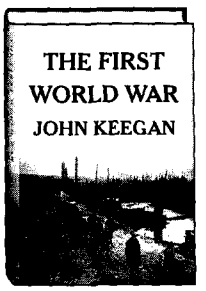
71-6438
Pub. price **$26**



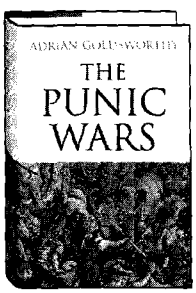
62-0793
Pub. price **$25.95**



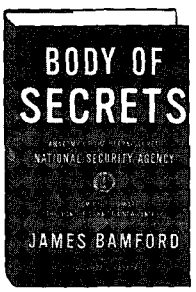
08-0957
Pub. price **$45**



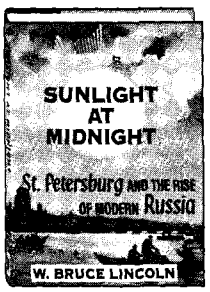
58-8981
Pub. price **$35**



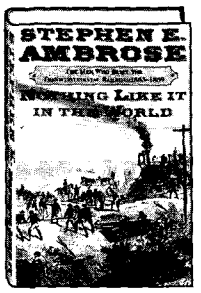
01-3303
Pub. price **$39.95**



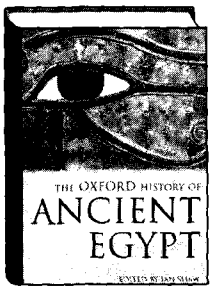
21-8736
Pub. price **$29.95**



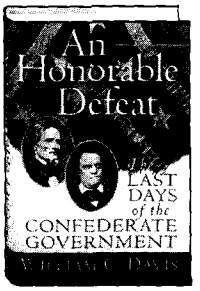
01-9641
Pub. price **$35**



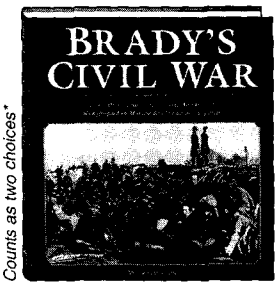
70-7643
Pub. price **$28**



21-1764
Pub. price **$45**

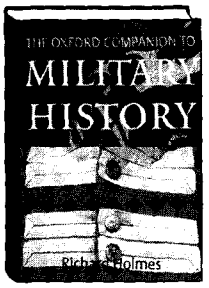


71-9515
Pub. price **$30**



*Counts as two choices**

20-8457/99-9999
Pub. price **$40**



*Counts as two choices**

61-9789/99-9999
Pub. price **$60**

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings. Regular prices are up to 40% off publishers' edition prices, and Members can save up to 75% with special offers. You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. You'll receive 4 books for $1 each, plus shipping and handling, when membership is confirmed. Thereafter, you have to buy 1 more book in the next year. Your membership may be discontinued, by you or by the Club, at any time after you have purchased 1 additional book.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from more than 150 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its Members well-made, long-lasting, hardcover or softcover editions, sometimes altered in size.

You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form 17 times a year (about every 3 weeks). If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing —the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified or log on to **www.historybookclub.com**. A shipping and handling charge (and sales tax where applicable) is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had less than 10 days to decide, just send it back at our expense and owe nothing.

All the best history. All in one place.

VALUE UP TO $214 off publishers' edition prices

HISTORY BOOK CLUB

P.O. Box 6400, Indianapolis IN 46206-6400

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the 4 books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill me $1 for each book, plus shipping and handling. I agree to buy just 1 more book at the regular low Club price in the next year.

(*For a "Counts as two choices" book, write the 6-digit number in one box and 99-9999 in the next box.)

4 choices at $1 each: 1-EH H123-11-1

– –

– –

SPECIAL BONUS
As a Member, you will have **FREE** online access to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (a $550 value). See details at our website after you become a Member.

Name _____
(Please print clearly.)

Address _____ Apt# _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Guarantee of Satisfaction: You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, FREE. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books at our expense and owe nothing.

Send No Money Now.

©2001 History Book Club. All orders subject to approval.
Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada. Offer varies slightly in Canada.

Shop online: www.historybookclub.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sometimes argued that people—in the Third World especially—are trapped in their culture and history without possibility of choice, and can be free only if others make them so. Naipaul's vision that all of us have to take responsibility for ourselves is too conservative for them. And yet: The absolute rejection of victimhood is necessary if we are to meet as we must on an equal footing. Unfashionable in recent years, it is this belief, courageously and persistently held, which has made Naipaul the universal writer and humanist that he is.

The comic spirit is submerged in his later books beneath a darkening sense of tragedy. Naipaul has written about slavery, revolution, guerrillas, corrupt politicians, the poor and the oppressed, interpreting the rages so deeply rooted in our societies. Long before others, he began to report on the irrationality loosed by religion in the Islamic world from Iran to Indonesia to Pakistan. This phenomenon was another retreat from history into self-pity which would damage everyone, but Muslims themselves above all.

The great moral to his life's work is that the human comedy will come out all right because when all is said and done intellect is more powerful than vicissitude and wickedness. The Nobel Prize for Literature has gone to someone who deserves it.

—David Pryce-Jones

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: This photo of our baby daughter speaks well, I think, to the allure of National Review. And apparently the magazine's appeal isn't limited to readable content—a few seconds after I snapped this, she began to taste its pages and seemed equally pleased!

Sincerely,
George Shadroui
Memphis, Tenn.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Regarding the criticism of your "the hanging was public, the spectators numerous" construction (Sept. 17), I respectfully disagree with any change. Having struggled with the problem repeatedly in my writing, I decided that if my readers are savvy enough to imagine an implied verb, they're savvy enough to imagine it plural to agree with its subject. And forget the comma after "spectators." If rules interfere with—rather than contribute to—clarity, they should not be applied.

Sincerely,
Parham Henry Baker
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Mr. Baker: Appreciate the leg up, especially done so authoritatively.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill: One of my readers has a question I can't answer. Maybe you could help me.

He writes: "In writing style there is a thing about putting something needlessly in quotes: Myrtle is really 'cool.' It's a form of mockery, connected to people who make quote signs while they talk. What is the word for this abominable practice? I knew it in high school, but I can't remember it."

My pen pal thought the device might be *aporia*, which I checked in *WebIII*. Maybe so, but you guys are a thousand miles ahead of me in the little dog tricks of rhetoric. Could you help?

All the best,
Kilpo
[James Jackson Kilpatrick]
Washington, D.C.

Dear Kilpo: I don't know the word we are looking for. Your "aporia" (note untroubled use of quotation marks) took me to the *OED* and to a wonderful quotation: "(1657) J. Smith *Myst. Rhet.* 150 Aporia is a figure whereby the Speaker sheweth that he doubteth, either where to begin for the multitude of matters, or what to do or say in some strange or ambiguous thing."

My own sense of it is simply a stylistic objection to the quotation mark as formalism. No doubt, as you'd know, there must be passages and passages on the subject in the usage books, though not in your own, otherwise exemplary, *The Writer's Art*.

Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The paragraph about Mrs. Megawati, Lon Nol, et al. (The Week, Sept. 3) reminded me of a joke from the Congo in the '60s: Kasavubu says to Mobutu: "Kennedy. What a funny name!"

John Elfmont, M.D.
Torrance, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In a recent column you state: "The statistics here are very firm. If you don't smoke until age 21, the chances are 90 percent that you will not smoke ever." Sorry, firm statistics or not, it cannot be. If you don't smoke *until* age 21, the chances are *100 percent* that you *will* smoke. "Not X until Y" entails "X at or after Y." The logic of the word *until* is richer than that of *before*, which is, we infer, what you meant. So if one says, "She did not smoke before age 21," one can sensibly add "and she did not smoke after that age either." But replacement of *before* with *until* yields a contradiction when the addition is present.

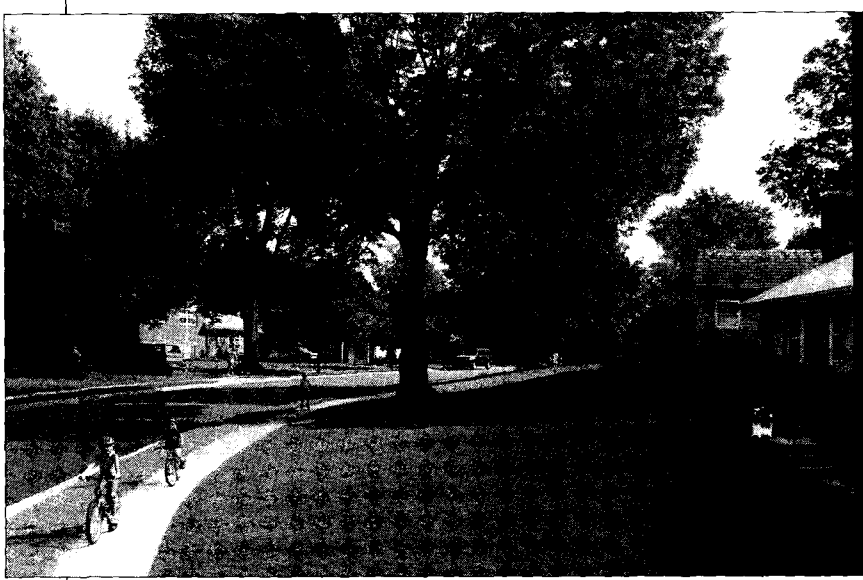
Paul M. Postal/Eve Tauss
Scarsdale, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Postal/Ms. Tauss: Nice going, and you are absolutely right.

Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Freddie Mac was created so more people can own homes. It's working.

1970 was an expensive year to buy a home. Mortgage rates were relatively high. And mortgage loans were far too costly. Congress looked for ways to improve the system. And Freddie Mac was born.

Freddie Mac, Congress envisioned, would increase the supply and decrease the cost of mortgage money by attracting mortgage funds from many new investors. It would pass the savings on to homebuyers in the form of lower interest rates. It would build a steady, reliable pipeline of mortgage money from Wall Street to Main Street. And it wouldn't cost the taxpayer a dime.

Today, more families own homes than ever before. The supply of affordable mortgage funds is strong. And experts calculate that without Freddie Mac, those lucky enough to own a home would pay $30,000 more in interest over the life of a $250,000 mortgage.

The system, it seems, is working. It's working for you.

Freddie Mac

We Open Doors®

www.freddiemac.com

©2001 Freddie Mac

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE NATION ■

What We're Not Fighting For

The list includes short skirts, dancing, and secularism

RAMESH PONNURU

In the nation at large, the September massacres have revealed a persistent unity under the surface of our political and cultural divisions. Among liberals, however, they have uncovered a deep divide lying under surface agreement. Many liberal intellectuals have rallied to the defense of the country. The *Washington Post* and *The New Republic* have been models of intellectual and moral clarity, supporting the president vigorously—more vigorously, indeed, than he may intend to act.

But the left wing of the liberal coalition has reacted to the attacks with instinctive opposition to military action coupled with not a little anti-Americanism. The Saids, the Sontags, the Chomskys, the other contributors to *The Nation*—Christopher Hitchens being a noteworthy exception—have been more interested in flaying America for its supposed sins than in defeating its enemies (or "enemies," as they would no doubt put it).

This is a deep disagreement about America's moral status. It is not, to be sure, a new disagreement. But since it manifests itself in debates about foreign policy, it has not been politically consequential since the Cold War. Differences on Kosovo were not important enough to prevent liberals and the Left from living together in the Democratic party. Now foreign policy matters again. The last few years saw an attempt to reunite campus leftists and labor—who had parted ways during the Vietnam War—in opposition to globalization. Owing to the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, that alliance is breaking up again.

For left-of-center supporters of the war, bringing around their allies is thus not only a patriotic service but a political imperative. Yet there is a danger that in the course of arguing for the war,

REUTERS/Gary Hershorn

Our casus belli?

liberals will settle on an interpretation of it that is both wrong and dangerous. According to this interpretation, what we are fighting against is "fundamentalism." What we are fighting for is "tolerance," "pluralism," "modernity," and "the open society"—and these terms are, with varying degrees of explicitness, to be understood as liberals understand them. What we are fighting for is, essentially, moral liberalism.

This, I take it, is what Salman Rushdie is getting at when he writes, in a generally quite admirable op-ed rebuking anti-American leftists, that we must be willing to die for "short skirts and dancing." Michael Lind, who is hard to categorize politically but is certainly a liberal on moral issues, makes the point more clearly: "It's a war of reason and tolerance against medieval superstition." Such superstition is not confined to radical Islam. "The anti-American Muslims believe that the United States is a godless, secular humanist regime. So does the religious right," writes Lind. "The radical Muslims want to roll back feminism and stamp out abortion and homosexuality. So does the religious right." Aryeh Neier, the head of the Open Society Institute, has drawn the same parallel. The Rev. Jerry Falwell's notorious remarks, he writes, "make clear that American fundamentalists are as hostile to modernity as their counterparts elsewhere."

Andrew Sullivan—who is not himself a liberal in the contemporary sense but is a scourge of religious conservatives—has been a strong and eloquent supporter of the war on Islamist terrorism. He goes so far as to call it "a religious war." In the *New York Times Magazine*, he writes that it is "a war of fundamentalism against faiths of all kinds that are at peace with freedom and modernity. This war even has far gentler echoes in America's own religious conflicts—between newer, more virulent strands of Christian fundamentalism and mainstream Protestantism and Catholicism." He concludes, "What is really at issue here is the simple but immensely difficult principle of the separation of politics and religion."

As I've said, not all the above-quoted people are orthodox liberals, but it's easy to see the appeal their view of the war will have for liberals. Many of them tend to regard what Alan Wolfe calls "moral freedom" as the essence of freedom and the highest achievement of our civilization. As the Supreme Court put it in an abortion case, "At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life." (That's quite a lot to pack into the Fourteenth Amendment's due-process clause, one might think, but never mind.) Many of them tend to think that any form of absolute conviction, especially religious conviction, is likely to lead to coercion and, at the end of the road, totalitarianism. And

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's Wrong with This Picture?

College Administrators Think It's Just Fine

They want to give students an incomplete picture. One that includes speakers only from the Left.

But students bold enough to take action can bring balance to their campus. With the help of Young America's Foundation, you can sponsor speakers at your school who will have a powerful impact on its intellectual life. Last fall, 2,500 students turned out for an event at Carleton College and 1,000 for a Foundation lecturer at Florida State University. This spring, 1,000 students jammed a lecture hall at Truman State University and it was standing-room only when 1,000 students heard a Foundation speech at Capital University.

Whether the speaker is Oliver North, Ward Connerly, Robert Novak, Ann Coulter, or one of the scores of conservative lecturers available, a speaker sponsored by Young America's Foundation is often the best attended program on campus.

So don't let your administrators or faculty tell you that students don't want to hear a conservative speaker. Do not let the likes of Bill Clinton, Jesse Jackson, Madeleine Albright, and Hillary Clinton control the campus debate by default. Join the battle to bring balance to America's college campuses. **Call Young America's Foundation today at 1-800-292-9231.**

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

National Headquarters
F. M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street
Herndon, Virginia 20170
800-292-9231
www.yaf.org

The Reagan Ranch
812B Anacapa Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101
877-797-7325

National Journalism Center
800 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-544-1333

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all liberals, whether for or against the war, can agree that the Religious Right is a threat to American democracy. The Taliban, for them, is simply Gary Bauer in power.

If this view of the war might recruit some liberals, if widely adopted it would cause many others to stop supporting the war. It would shrink our international coalition. Is Pakistan prepared to fight by our side for abortion rights? Latin America has not been keen on tolerance for gays. And this is to say nothing of our domestic coalition. "Fundamentalist" Christians make up, by some estimates, a quarter of our population. We will not get our side of the war off to a good start by defining them as, philosophically, part of the enemy. And there are millions of Catholics who share many of their moral views. (I would wager that social conservatives make up a disproportionate number of our men in uniform.)

■

Conservative Christian leaders are not bringing down buildings. And what they want is a far cry from theocracy.

■

Sullivan outlines some of the parallels between Christian and Islamic "fundamentalists": Both groups have strong faiths based on absolute truths; both feel their cultures are slipping away from them and are consequently insecure. But this isn't much, really. Secular philosophies can be absolutist, and totalitarian, too. (Sullivan concedes, at least in his *Times Magazine* piece, that secular philosophies can be totalitarian. On his website, though, he writes, "In my view, atheists are far less politically dangerous than fundamentalists of any stripe.") The flip side of the coin is that philosophies of freedom can be held with absolute, indeed religious, conviction: Many of us believe that God commands us not to kill one another in disputes about God's commands. Most of us feel no doubt whatsoever when we say that the mass murders of 9/11 were absolutely wrong.

Islamists and Christian fundamentalists may agree that the West is decadent, just as Islamists and liberals may agree that the West bears responsibility for Third World poverty. Were we really attacked for our social license? One hesitates to make definitive judgments about the psychology of the strip-club Islamists who crashed our planes. But the answer is probably, "Yes, in part": This is the kernel of truth to the social-liberal analysis of the war. It seems unlikely that Osama bin Laden would hate us less, however, if we were really the "Christian crusaders" coming "under the banner of the cross" of his propaganda. It was evangelizing for Christianity, not peddling pornography, that landed Americans on the Taliban's death row.

The Revs. Falwell and Robertson lent some credence to the argument that Christian and Islamic "fundamentalism" are brothers under the skin. (This was, in fact, a reason that many conservatives regretted their remarks.) But for all their frequent folly and occasional malice—and I wrote an essay criticizing Falwell and Robertson the day their remarks were reported—conservative Christian leaders are not bringing down buildings. And what they, together with rank-and-file conservative Christians, want is a far cry from theocracy.

What conservative Christians want is to restore certain aspects of the America of the 1950s. That America banned abortion and practiced a mild censorship. Perhaps it was wrong to do these things. But most people would agree that the America of the 1950s was a free society, and a society worth defending from external attack. All of these things, of course, could also be said of the America of 1941.

We can fight for freedom while disagreeing about the full meaning of freedom. The war on Islamism does not need the distraction of our culture wars: of clerics who say our decadence is to blame for the attacks; of intellectuals who exult that our decadence has brought us such ugly enemies. Liberals should not support the war because the Taliban is hostile to feminism. They should support it because they are patriots. That is why most of them actually do support it. They are better than their ideology. **NR**

■ **THE MIDDLE EAST** ■

Ayatollah Attitude

Iran's place in the new war

RAY TAKEYH

THE events of September 11 have dramatically reshaped the politics of the Middle East, and nowhere more so than in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran now faces a stark choice: It must abandon its sponsorship of terrorism or risk the possibility of U.S. punitive action.

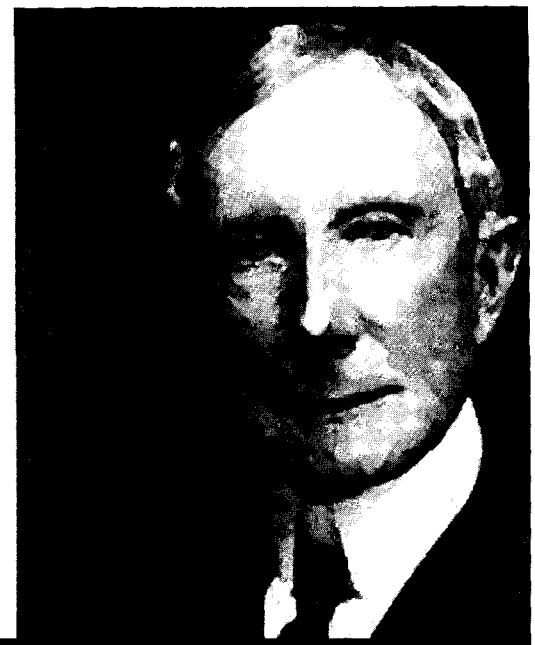
Iran's initial condemnation of the terror attacks soon evolved into a settled defiance of U.S. calls for military action against the terrorist strongholds, quashing hopes in Washington for a tacit alliance with the Islamic Republic. As the Bush team searches the Middle East for allies, it will find an Iran that, despite its antiterrorist rhetoric, persists in supporting organizations that engage in violence for political purposes.

Domestically, Iran is making an important social transition. The cadre of reformist clerics around the president, Muhammad Khatami, appreciates that the autocratic regime, with its rigid definition of Islam, is eroding support for the very idea of an Islamic republic; these moderates are therefore willing to experiment with some degree of political and cultural liberalization. Hard-liners, however, continue to cling to dogmatism; they favor an Islam that is averse to innovation, intolerant of dissent, and contemptuous of democratic accountability. The hard-liners have found a patron and ally in the stern and forbidding figure of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei,

Mr. Takeyh is a research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the author of the forthcoming book, *Receding Shadow of the Prophet: Radical Islamic Movements on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A ROCKEFELLER TO LEAVE A LEGACY THAT MAKES A MARK ON AMERICA. BE SMART. BUILD A PHILANTHROPIC LEGACY YOU CAN BE PROUD OF.



You've benefited from living in a nation created to protect your right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. You've also worked hard, played by the rules, and created personal wealth. And now, you'd like to help preserve your hard-won liberty for future generations of Americans.

You don't have to have millions to help preserve liberty.

With just $10,000 you can open a DonorsTrust donor-advised fund account and immediately receive superior tax deductions as well as time to develop a giving plan that will honor your charitable intent. Once your account is open, you may recommend grant disbursements at any time.

But you do have to be thoughtful about the gifts you make.

You or a trusted successor-advisor can distribute the charitable assets in your donor-advised fund account to those programs or organizations that preserve America's founding principles, protect its free-enterprise system, and promote a free and responsible citizenry. With this focus, you may be assured that your philanthropic intent to preserve liberty will always be ensured.

Establish your philanthropic legacy today. Ensure your intent through a donor-advised fund with DonorsTrust.

BENEFITS OF A DONORSTRUST DONOR-ADVISED FUND:

- Build a charitable legacy in support of freedom
- Protect your charitable intent
- Maximize your tax deduction
- Avoid capital gains taxes
- Gain time for thoughtful charitable decisions
- Receive foundation-style services
- Enjoy the option of anonymity
- Save time and expense

DonorsTrust

~ BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

111 North Henry Street, Alexandria, VA 22314
P) 703.535.3563 F) 703.535.3564
www.donorstrust.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Iran's spiritual leader. Khamenei's power is considerable: Under Iranian law, he certifies elections and appoints the leaders of the judiciary, the armed forces, and the Revolutionary Guards. Hardliners also control important parts of the foreign-policy machinery, and quickly used this power to quash Khatami's pragmatic efforts to use the current crisis to reach out to Washington.

To point out, however, that Iran's domestic scene is polarized should not lead us to underestimate the relative consensus among Tehran's competing political factions when it comes to key international issues. For an entire generation of Iran's clerics, relations with the U.S. have been mired in visceral emotion. From Tehran's perspective, the U.S. is more than another great power with which Iran must deal; it embodies a whole range of political and cultural grievances. America's culture of pluralism and materialism threatens the foundations of an Islamic republic; furthermore, its economic and geopolitical preeminence works to block Iranian ambitions to lead a coalition of Gulf and Caspian states. Successive Persian empires have dreamt of becoming the dominant power in Islamdom, only to be thwarted by other claimants to that status. Arab dynasties, Ottoman rulers, and British imperialists all denied Iran its historic mandate of shaping the region in its own image; the U.S. is just the latest obstacle to Iran's hegemonic ambitions.

In Afghanistan, however, Iran's objectives ostensibly coincide with those of the U.S. Iran shares a long, troubled border with Afghanistan and has funneled extensive support to the Taliban's opponents. While both Iran and the Taliban claim religious legitimacy, deep doctrinal differences and strategic insecurities have divided them from the start. Tehran has declared the Taliban a menace, its ideology a perversion of religious teachings, and its policies on women, art, and culture an affront to civilized norms. (This is Iran talking.) Three years ago, the hostility nearly escalated to war after Iranian diplomats were killed in the Taliban capture of a minority stronghold.

All this is true, but Iran's clerics take only limited comfort in America's destruction of their Afghan foes—because it implies a further projection of U.S. power. Khamenei has warned that "the American government intends to repeat what it did in the Persian Gulf in this region . . . They intend to come and establish themselves in this region under the pretext of a lack of security here." Hassan Rowhani, the secretary general of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, reached a similar conclusion, declaring, "A long-time aim of the Americans has been to dominate the oil wells in the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea, and with the attacks against Afghanistan, it has found the excuse to gain a presence in the Caspian Sea." And this is where the apparent convergence of U.S. and Iranian perspectives falters; because while Tehran can live, however uneasily, with a Taliban-led Afghanistan, it dreads the prospect of a pro-Western regime in Afghanistan and further U.S. inroads into Central Asia.

Ayatollah Khamenei by Roman Genn

For Iran, then, the potential implications of America's war over Afghanistan are ominous. The last time the U.S. fought a regional war—against Iraq—it established permanent military installations on Iran's periphery and doggedly pursued an Arab-Israeli peace process that, despite its shortcomings, yielded a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. The possibility of a further encampment of American forces on Iran's northern and eastern flanks terrifies Iran's clerics. This is a major reason for Tehran's efforts to restrain the U.S., and its insistence on an international—as opposed to an American-led—coalition against Afghanistan and the terrorists within it. Iran's foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, has pointedly rejected America's definition of terrorism and stressed the need to "make a distinction between terrorism and a people's legitimate right to self-defense and resisting occupation." From the American perspective, Lebanon's Hezbollah and the plethora of militant Palestinian groups may be terrorist organizations with a "global reach," but from Iran's point of view they are allies that provide it with leverage in the region. At a time when the U.S. military presence in the region is bound to grow, Iran is not about to abandon its remaining allies in an effort to curry favor with Washington.

Iran's support for terrorism, then, rests on sound strategic calculations. Iran's long-term objectives are the eviction of the U.S. from the Gulf and the marginalization of Israel. Given the disparity of military power between Iran and its competitors, terrorism has always been its weapon of choice. Soon after coming to power, Iran's ayatollahs created the Hezbollah, whose purpose was to menace Israel and force the U.S. out of Lebanon. In the latter effort, Hezbollah's success was spectacular: Its bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks forced a superpower's withdrawal, and its protracted terrorism against Israel finally caused Jerusalem, too, to abandon Lebanon.

Iran has also nourished a web of Shiite militant groups in the Gulf and directed them against U.S. installations. The 1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, which left 19 American airmen dead, illustrated the subtle and effective nature of Iran's operations, as its proxies inflicted substantial damage while Tehran escaped direct complicity. We should be under no illusions: Despite the fractious nature of Iran's politics, its foreign-policy machinery is highly centralized, and all key decisions—including the selection of terrorist targets—are approved by the spiritual leader (currently Khamenei).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recapture the glory that was Greece with this brilliant course...

Ancient Greek Civilization, offers 24 information-packed lectures on one of the greatest cultures the world has ever seen

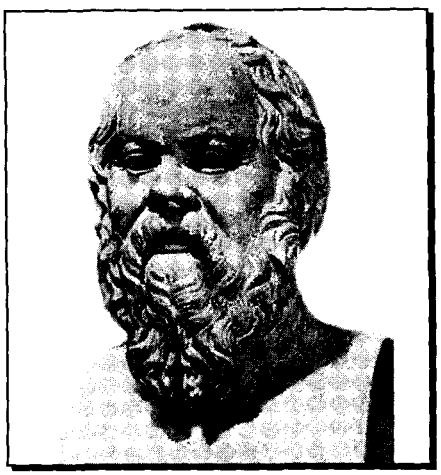
Why do the ancient Greeks loom so large in conceptions of Western culture and identity?

Clearly, the Greeks are a source of much that we esteem in our own culture: democracy, philosophy, drama, history-writing, our ideals of beauty and athletic competition, and more. Blazoned above the portal of Apollo's temple at Delphi were the words "Know thyself." For us, this injunction to self-awareness commands knowledge of the Greeks.

These recorded lectures cover the 11 centuries from the end of the Neolithic period to the conquests of Alexander the Great. Professor McInerney traces the complex links between our civilization and its Hellenic origins. You can be confident that the insights you get from him are based on the newest and best in academic research and criticism. You'll come away enriched by new knowledge, not only of history, but of literature, art, philosophy, religion, and more.

You'll pay special attention to the era of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars and of classical Athens as unforgettably described by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Professor McInerney guides you through a rich trove of literary and archaeological evidence, including the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae; Aeschylus's *Oresteia;* and the traces left by the wealthy Greek colonies in Sicily.

Ancient Greek Civilization lays bare the deepest historical roots of ideas upon which our world still depends. You'll see how and where they first sprang up, and you'll trace the course of their development in the ancient Hellenic world, a place at once highly familiar and acutely strange.



Socrates. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Get the Best in Teaching—Guaranteed!

With this as with all of The Great Courses, you get guaranteed teaching excellence. The Teaching Company scours America from coast to coast searching for the best college lecturers, who can be identified most surely by teaching awards and consistently outstanding marks on independent student evaluations.

The Great Courses put hours of intellectual adventure at your fingertips. Every course comes with helpful printed course guides that give you lecture outlines, reading lists, glossaries, and more.

Treat Yourself to an Intellectual Adventure

You can use Teaching Company courses to turn your commute, your exercise time, or your tv viewing into an captivating learning experience. And you can enjoy a lecture per day for no more than the price of a cup of coffee.

Order today and take advantage of this great learning value.

THE COURSE CURRICULUM

PART I *(Lectures 1-12)*

Greece and the Western World . . . Minoan Crete . . . Schliemann and Mycenae . . . The Long Twilight . . . The Age of Heroes . . . From Sicily to Syria—The Growth of Trade and Colonization . . . Delphi and Olympia . . . The Spartans . . . Revolution . . . Tyranny . . . The Origins of Democracy . . . Beyond Greece—The Persian Empire

PART II *(Lectures 13-24)*

The Persian Wars . . . The Athenian Empire . . . The Art of Democracy . . . Sacrifice and Greek Religion . . . Theater and the Competition of Art . . . Sex and Gender . . . The Peloponnesian War, Part I . . . The Peloponnesian War, Part II . . . Socrates on Trial . . . Slavery and Freedom . . . Athens in Decline? . . . Philip, Alexander, and Greece in Transition

SAVE UP TO $145!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL DEC. 15, 2001

No-Risk Money-Back Guarantee!

About Your Professor:

JEREMY McINERNEY (Ph.D., University of California-Berkeley, 1992) is Associate Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where from 1994 to 1998 he held the Laura Jan Meyerson Term Chair in the Humanities. He also currently serves as chair of the university's Graduate Group in the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. He has firsthand archaeological experience at sites in Corinth, Crete, and Israel, and serves on the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece.

Shop securely on-line at:
www.teach12.com

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 12188)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819

The Teaching Company
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232
www.teach12.com

Priority Code 12188

Please send me **Ancient Greek Civilization**, which consists of 24 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ❑ **Audio $34.95** (reg. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Video $54.95** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **CD $49.95** (reg. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Additional international shipping charges may apply*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

❑ **Charge my:** *(please check desired format)*

❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ Discover Novus ❑ American Express

Account Number

Signature Exp. Date

Name (please print)

Mailing Address

City/State/Zip

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

❑ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: December 15, 2001

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This terrorism is not a rogue operation; it serves national-security interests and represents a cool, calculated state decision.

Iran, therefore, is unlikely to lend a helping hand in America's war against the Taliban; Tehran's clerics will stand neutral in that conflict, while plotting their own next move against U.S. influence in the region. If the U.S. is not prepared to allow Iranian hegemony over much of the Middle East, U.S.-Iranian relations will continue to be marked by confrontation, even when both states appear to share certain interests. In essence, the Clinton-Albright approach—offering concessions as a means of generating dialogue—failed to appreciate that the U.S. and Iran simply have different plans for the region. If Washington wants Tehran to conform to international rules of conduct, it will have to maintain a robust regional presence and conduct a determined effort against Iran's terrorism and efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Only when Iran's theocrats are convinced of America's resolve on these matters can a meaningful U.S.-Iranian dialogue take place. **NR**

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

■ **WASHINGTON** ■

Security Blanket

Will it smother the nation's capital?

BYRON YORK

DESPITE jitters about security, tourists coming to Washington these days can still enjoy all the sights: the White House, the Capitol, the Lincoln Memorial, the Jersey Barrier. Actually, that last is not an official monument, but is fast becoming the symbol of post–September 11 Washington. Jersey barriers—the long, low concrete objects usually found along highway construction projects—are everywhere around town, keeping cars and trucks away from government buildings. They're also keeping federal and local officials locked in a debate over how much security is enough.

The barriers, which can be hauled in on trucks and put into place in a few hours, are perfect for creating instant, if makeshift, security. In the days since September 11, they have popped up around the State Department, the FBI building, the U.S. Attorney's office, and several other places. In the future, some of them will no doubt be taken away and the streets they blocked re-opened. But local officials in Washington worry that many will stay, and that still more will be replaced by permanent barriers—enough to change forever the landscape of the city.

Some changes will amount to no more than minor inconveniences for locals and tourists alike. But the biggest fear of those who want to keep Washington open is that the heart of the city and the heart of the U.S. government—the White House and the Capitol—will be transformed into two sealed-off campuses joined by Pennsylvania Avenue.

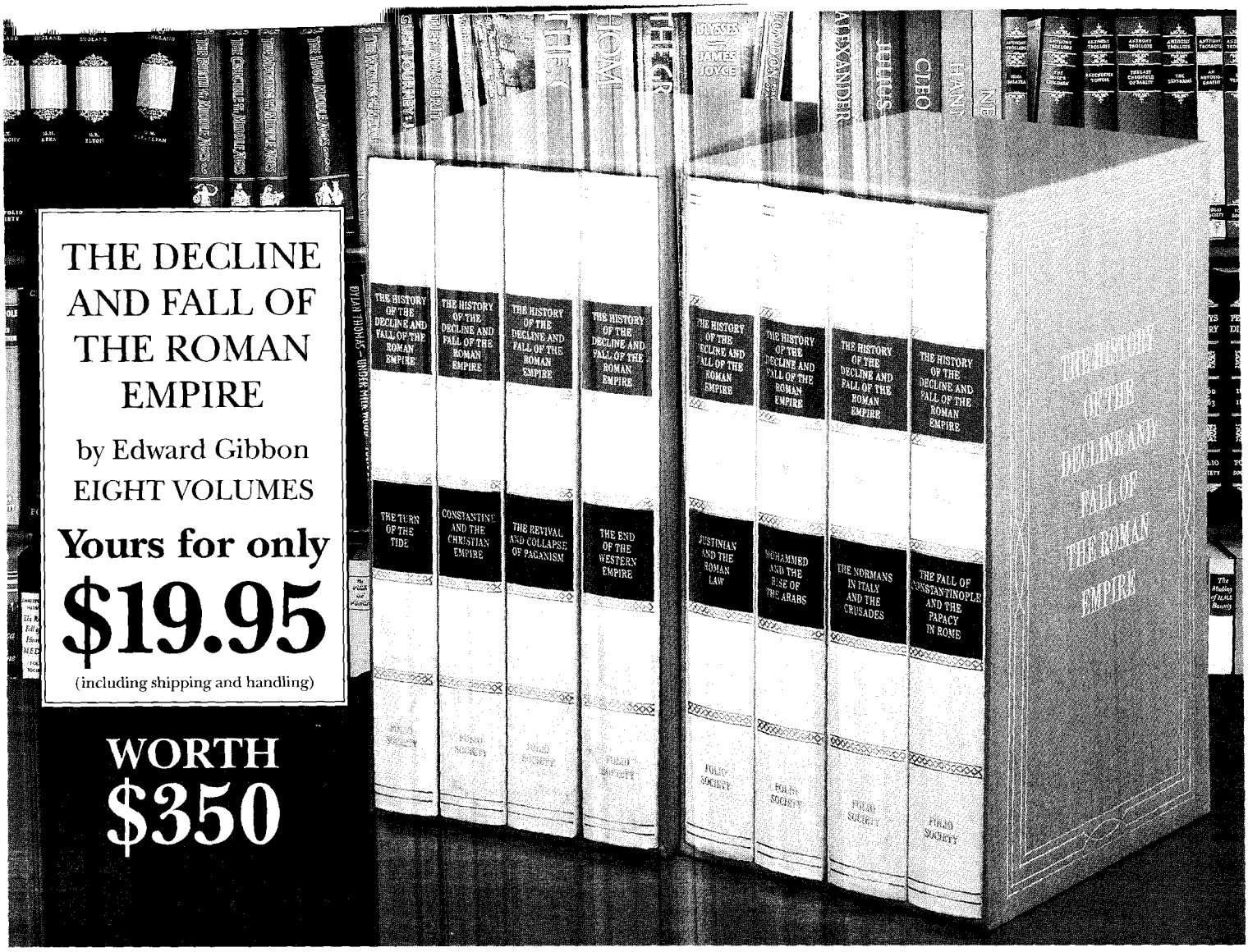
That's already largely true of the White House. The portion of Pennsylvania Avenue that runs in front of the executive mansion was closed by Bill Clinton in 1995 in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing. Many in Congress protested, and, although George W. Bush did not make an explicit commitment to reverse Clinton's decision, the 2000 Republican party platform did: "We will re-open Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House as a symbolic expression of confidence in the restoration of the rule of law."

Now, that's out the window. "There's a good reason why it's closed," Vice President Dick Cheney said recently on PBS. "It was closed because of the car-bomb threat, and it ought to stay closed . . . If somebody were to detonate a truck bomb in front of the White House, it would probably level the White House." And that, the vice president concluded in classic Cheneyesque understatement, would be "unacceptable."

With the Pennsylvania Avenue issue off the table, the question today is whether to expand the zone of security around the White House—"the box," as one Secret Service official calls it—beyond its present limits. In the first days after the terrorist attacks, the Secret Service abruptly closed 15th, 17th, E, and H Streets around the White House. That created hours of gridlock—and surprised city officials, who hadn't been warned ahead of time. (There wasn't anything they could do about it: The law gives the Secret Service virtually unlimited discretion to do what it feels necessary to protect the president.) After a few days, all the roads except E Street, which curves around the South Lawn, were re-opened. But the Secret Service, citing a longstanding refusal to discuss "methods and means" of presidential protection, will not say for how long.

Far more dramatic security changes are in store for the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, where the Capitol has traditionally been open to nearly everyone. Some proposals would create a perimeter around the Capitol similar to what exists at the White House—only vastly larger. One plan under consideration recently called for the complete shutdown of Constitution and Independence Avenues in the area around the Capitol, which would have created a 40-square-block security area. "A lot of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
by Edward Gibbon
EIGHT VOLUMES
Yours for only
$19.95
(including shipping and handling)
WORTH
$350
THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
THE TURN OF THE TIDE
CONSTANTINE AND THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE
THE REVIVAL AND COLLAPSE OF PAGANISM
THE END OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
JUSTINIAN AND THE ROMAN LAW
MOHAMMED AND THE RISE OF THE ARABS
THE NORMANS IN ITALY AND THE CRUSADES
THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE PAPACY IN ROME
FOLIO SOCIETY

'The greatest historical work in our language...

I can think of no more enjoyable way of reading it than in The Folio Society's elegant volumes.'
Hugh Trevor-Roper,
Professor Emeritus of History, Oxford University.

As your introduction to The Folio Society, we are offering you a handsome eight-volume edition of Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (worth $350) for only $19.95 (including shipping) – a saving of over $330. This magisterial account of fourteen hundred years – from the birth of Christ to the fall of Constantinople – is enhanced by a classical binding design and two gold-blocked slip-cases.

Also, the latest edition of *The Greek Myths*, a two volume set worth $87.50, is yours absolutely FREE – just for replying.

No publisher devotes more attention to book design and production than The Folio Society. Authentic bindings, rare typefaces and illustrations by notable artists combine to make Folio editions unique. Every title has a fully sewn binding and comes with a protective slip-case. Only the finest materials are employed including acid-free paper – so that future generations will also enjoy your books.

The Folio Society does not send you unsolicited books or 'choices of the month'. You simply choose four books from our sixty-page catalogue to fulfil your membership.

Your choice

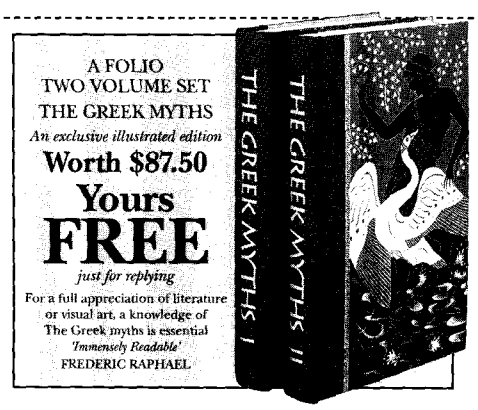
Our current publications include history and eyewitness accounts, short stories and anthologies, biography and autobiography, modern and classic fiction, children's books, humour, poetry, legend and authoritative books on the classical world. With prices starting as low as $24.95, the majority of our books are still less than $45.

The Folio Society, founded in 1947 is for dedicated readers who wish to rediscover the pleasure of the fine edition at an affordable price.

Why not join us now? Call Toll Free (24 hours) 1-800-353-0700 or return the coupon today to take advantage of this special introductory offer.

The Folio Society Guarantee
You have the right to return ***any*** *book if you are not completely satisfied. You will* ***never*** *be sent a book you have not ordered.*

THE FOLIO SOCIETY
P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043



To: The Membership Secretary, The Folio Society Ltd.,
P.O. Box 693, Holmes, PA 19043. Fax:1-610-532-9001.

ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-353-0700

Please accept my application for FREE trial membership of The Folio Society and send me *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, together with the Folio catalogue and my FREE copy of *The Greek Myths*. If I agree to purchase at least 4 books from your catalogue I will be billed only $19.95 for *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (including shipping and handling). If I am not satisfied – for any reason – I may return the introductory set within 10 days. My membership will be cancelled and I will owe nothing. I understand that as a member of The Folio Society I have the right to return any book if I am not completely satisfied. *The Greek Myths* is mine to keep whatever I decide.

Title Name Date

BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE

Address

City

State Zipcode

Please allow 21 days for delivery. Applications subject to approval.

2X41DX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people talked about it," says Republican representative Bob Ney, chairman of the House Administration Committee, who opposed the idea. The idea had its champions, Ney says, but "it never got to the point where there was going to be a shutdown."

That was in part because local D.C. officials pleaded to keep the streets open. "We objected strongly," says John Koskinen, the deputy mayor and city administrator in charge of security issues (previously, he was the Clinton administration's Y2K conversion czar). Koskinen argued that in an emergency thousands of people would need to evacuate, and shutting down Constitution and Independence Avenues would effectively trap them in town. While his view prevailed, Koskinen knows that things might change at any time. "Congress controls those streets," he says. "They can do whatever they want."

For the moment, congressional leaders have decided to ban truck traffic from the area around the Capitol. They've stationed police officers along Constitution and Independence to wave trucks aside as they approach the Capitol. "They've all been cooperative," explained one officer on a recent Friday morning after he ordered a large unmarked truck to make a U-turn and head toward the narrow, crowded side streets of the surrounding neighborhood.

As for the officers themselves, they're quickly wearing out, working shifts that stretch 13 hours with three 45-minute breaks. "Everything's round-the-clock now," says the officer, who nevertheless appreciates the bundles of overtime. "The bills are getting paid with no problem," he says. (His extra pay is part of the $600 million that Congress plans to spend on new security.)

Like the 13-hour schedules, other parts of the new security system seemed jury-rigged at best. For example, at one entrance to the Capitol grounds, there's an array of barriers, plus a small guardhouse. But the entrance has to remain passable for VIPs, so there is a tiny, winding path for a car to follow through the maze of concrete. To keep that path blocked on the recent morning, security officers parked a bright red Dodge Intrepid across the driveway—the last barrier between the Capitol and a possible terrorist bomber.

■

New measures suggest that security planners ultimately envision the Capitol as an enclosed facility.

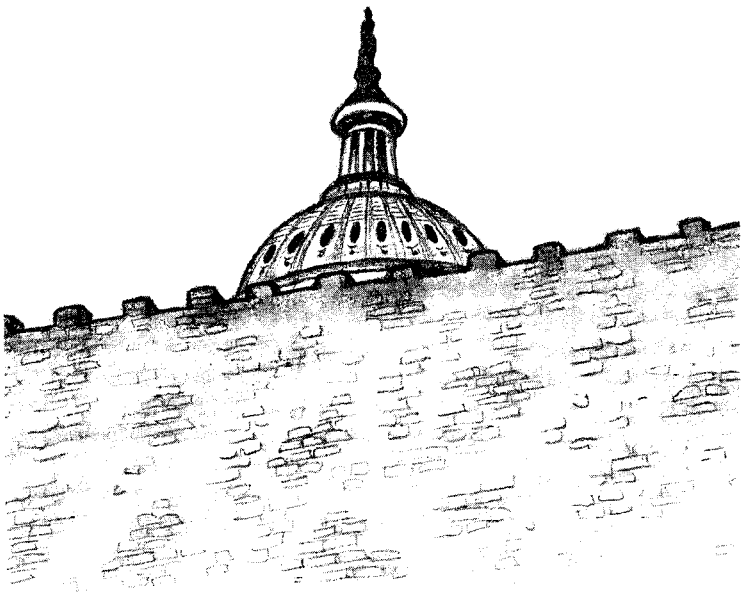
■

Finally, congressional officials have installed fencing around the Capitol, preventing walkers from stepping onto the grounds except at the main entrances and exits. Taken together, the new measures suggest that security planners ultimately envision the Capitol as an enclosed facility, not unlike a military base, with specific points of entry and tight limits on freedom of movement inside the barriers. That perception is reinforced by the influence of the Senate's new sergeant-at-arms, Alfonso Lenhardt, a retired Army major general who used to run the military police. Lenhardt is said to be a strong advocate of tough new security measures.

Given the sheer scope and deadliness of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, it's hard for city officials to claim that the new emphasis on security is excessive. Still, local leaders worry that today's new security, much of which is arguably necessary, will set off a creeping closure of parts of the city. After all, it is one of the characteristics of a bureaucracy to measure its importance by the security measures it can command. With Congress and the White House tightly locked up, what is to keep the Transportation Department from arguing that it, too, might become a target for terrorism and therefore needs the authority to shut down streets nearby? Or the IRS? Or the Labor Department? Or dozens of other agencies? "It's the camel's nose and the inch and the mile," says John Koskinen. "They're going to be doing this routinely if we continue to allow them to get away with it. It's pretty obvious that we're going to have to fight for this, one block at a time."

In May 1995, when he shut down the street in front of the White House, Bill Clinton said, "Pennsylvania Avenue has been routinely open to traffic for the entire history of our republic. Through four presidential assassinations and eight unsuccessful attempts on the lives of presidents it's been open; through a civil war, two world wars, and the Gulf War, it was open. But now, it must be closed." Many of Clinton's critics thought he had made a better argument for keeping Pennsylvania Avenue open than for shutting it down. But it was closed, and it has stayed closed.

Now the same argument is being made for shutting down other parts of Washington—and it is unlikely that local officials will be able to stop it. "Trying to have an open city is hard, but our city is a working symbol of democracy," D.C. mayor Tony Williams told reporters recently. "We could make it really a lot safer by putting Jersey barriers around everything, but then we wouldn't have much of a city to protect." **NR**



By Ismael Roldan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ PUBLIC POLICY ■

Your Papers, Please

Against a national ID card

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

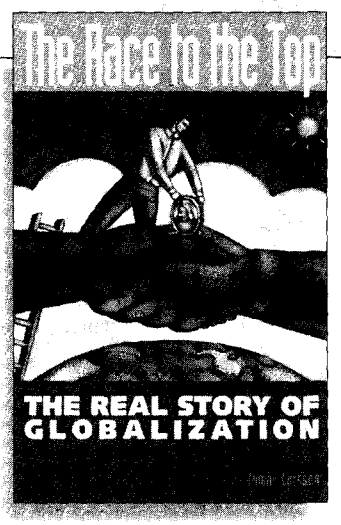
In the present climate of concern about security, we have been hearing renewed calls for a national identity card. Larry Ellison, the CEO of Oracle Corp., which sells software for managing large databases, had a piece in the *Wall Street Journal*: "Digital IDs Can Help Prevent Terrorism." Ellison does not go into much detail about how a national ID card might actually prevent terrorism; in fact he leaves one with the impression that terrorists who were careful to keep their noses clean while in the U.S.A. would go undetected anyway.

A few days later, Alan Dershowitz, the notorious professor and lawyer, chimed in with an op-ed in the *New York Times*: "Why Fear National ID Cards?" Dershowitz imagines a minimal system: "The only information the card need contain is name, address, photo and [finger]print." Such a system would, he argues, actually enhance civil liberties by "reducing the need for racial and ethnic stereotyping." It is encouraging to know that the professor acknowledges such a need; though since, by the time the ID card has been requested and presented, the profiling has already occurred, it is hard to see how the card would help.

Both writers make the point that all sorts of databases already exist, full of information about our incomes, movements, and private lives. A national ID-card system would simply make more efficient and useful what already exists in a chaotic and diffuse form. Ellison: "All these separate databases make it difficult for one agency to know about and apprehend someone wanted by another agency." Dershowitz: "[The

"After all the theorizing about globalization, here finally is a book that shows us how it works, what it looks like, and how it tastes. From the Thai brothels to the Brazilian slums to a Hutterite community in Washington state, Tomas Larsson has given us real examples of real people coping with and thriving in the new economy."

–David Brooks, author
Bobos in Paradise



Swedish journalist Tomas Larsson takes the reader on a fast-paced, worldwide journey and shows that access to global markets helps those struggling to get ahead. While critics of globalization focus on the hardships caused by international competition, Larsson sees the opportunities that competition offers to those seeking a better life. This is a highly readable book full of good news, by an author who brings the issues of globalization and trade to life.

The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization
by Tomas Larsson
164 pages, cloth $18.95, paper $9.95

CATO INSTITUTE

At bookstores, or call 1-800-767-1241 (noon–9 p.m. eastern time, Monday–Friday)
Cato Institute • 1000 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20001 **www.cato.org**

Prudent Bear Fund

68.78%
12 Month Return
(period ending 9/28/01)

Could you use some protection when stocks go down?

For a prospectus and more information call 1-888-PRU-BEAR

www.prudentbear.com

The Prudent Bear Fund no load shares total return for the 12 months ending Sept. 28, 2001 was 68.78% and its 5 year return was –3.33% and –4.88% since inception (Dec. 29, 1995) Performance data represents past performance which is no guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal value will fluctuate so shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. The prospectus contains more information, including fees and expenses. Please read it before you invest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

card] would reduce the likelihood that someone could, intentionally or not, get lost in the cracks of multiple bureaucracies."

Well, yes. Reading things like that, I feel that I am looking at one of those optical tricks—like the stack of cubes that seem to be ascending and lit from below, until you blink and perceive them as descending and lit from above. What Ellison and Dershowitz deplore—the possibility that an individual can lurk quietly in the interstices of our numerous national databases—seems to me a guarantor of individual liberty in the United States. It is sufficiently disturbing that the federal government can, by sorting through a pile of conflicting and unreliable data, track my movements and habits with modest accuracy. That they should be able to do this better and more efficiently is, it seems to me, a prospect to be dreaded.

There are other problems with a national ID-card database. There is the issue of data quality, for example. A study by the (libertarian) Cato Institute in 1995 showed that large databases owned by the federal government had high error rates: 5 to 20 percent for the Social Security Administration, and 10 to 20 percent for the IRS. The INS database, they found, was unreliable 28 percent of the time; people's first and last names were routinely in the wrong order, and misspellings were "rampant."

And then there is the matter of abuse. Because of the attacks on our country, we are currently in a collectivist frame of mind, with the percentage of Americans who say they trust the federal government to do the right thing "nearly always" or "most of the time" currently at 64—twice the level of a year ago. I hope and believe that the sober style of the new administration has also made some contribution to this high level of trust. We must remember, though, that a national ID database, once established, would be available to all future administrations. It is hard to imagine the Bush people allowing low-level staffers to riffle through FBI files, or siccing the IRS on the president's personal enemies: yet exactly these things happened in previous years. Both of our editorialists are blithe about the possibility of abuse. Dershowitz: "The fear of an intrusive government can be addressed by setting criteria for any official who demands to see the card." Ellison: "Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure would govern access . . . The 'probable cause' standard will still have to be met."

What Ellison and Dershowitz deplore seems to me a guarantor of individual liberty in the United States.

Compare the following, taken pretty much at random from the immense literature on government abuse of power and disregard of the law and the Constitution in the 1990s: "In August 1993 the IRS revealed that 369 of its employees in one regional office had been investigated for browsing through the returns of friends, relatives, celebrities and others" (from *Feeling Your Pain* by James Bovard).

The cheerful confidence of Dershowitz and Ellison in the efficacy of "criteria" and "probable cause" as means of restraining government workers who are psychotic, venal, overzealous, or just inquisitive about the data in their charge, contrasts rather starkly with what we know about the actual behavior of actual bureaucrats when entrusted with our secrets, especially when, as apparently is fated to happen every so often, our government falls into the hands of liars and thieves.

And yet many Americans will feel that there is no choice. We have, they will say, been living in a fool's paradise: a quaint but hopelessly outdated notion of a country in which people can move freely without asking leave of anyone, can live lives free of interference by government busybodies, can engage in private transactions among themselves without any restraints other than those necessary to protect the weak from the strong. To prevent us from being ravaged by foreign evildoers like Osama bin Laden, we must submit to a more "European" style of life, with more supervision by the authorities.

I do not accept this. A few elementary precautions and a rational immigration policy would do a great deal to prevent the repetition of a September 11-type horror. A swift and vigorous response to all attacks on Americans—either civilians or troops, either at home or abroad—would work wonders in the way of deterrence. Even with all that, however, there is no perfect security; the odd lunatic or terrorist will always slip through the net. Then hundreds of us—or, in the rarest case, thousands of us—will be killed or maimed. There is a limit to what we can do to prevent this, short of instituting a system of permanent surveillance of all citizens and visitors, monitored by a vast army of snoopers.

In this, as in so many other things, Ronald Reagan set the example. He did not waver in his support for Second Amendment rights even when he himself was shot by a lunatic, regarding such an occurrence as part of the price for living in a free society. In the same spirit, when the subject of a national ID card, as an aid to controlling illegal immigration, was raised during a cabinet meeting, Reagan dismissed it with the sardonic remark: "Maybe we should just brand all babies." (This from Martin Anderson's book *Revolution*.) In the present climate, one hesitates to tell that story, for fear the idea might be taken up in all seriousness and appear a few days later as a *New York Times* editorial. **NR**

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NATIONAL REVIEW online

"American conservatives are not accustomed to being called hip, cutting edge, highly personable, communal, and funny, but that is the recipe behind NationalReview.com's secret sauce. NRO does wacky and repressed right-wing better than anybody . . . even Trent Lott."

—Min's New Media Report

WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ POLITICS ■

Playing Nice?

That old devil 'bipartisanship'

KATE O'BEIRNE

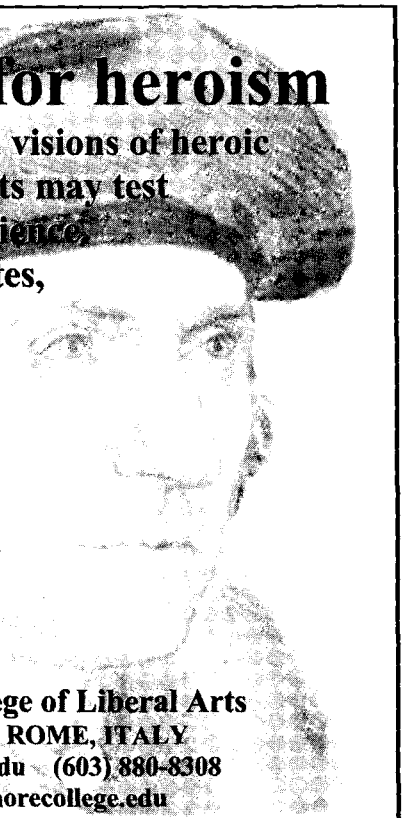
AFTER a month of nerve-racking tension, the news came that the battle had finally been joined: "Congress Resumes Partisan Warfare," declared a *New York Times* headline. And the report was accurate: By mid October, Democrats were howling about Republicans' plans to push their own proposals on tax cuts, airline security, energy, and trade. The GOP is realizing, none too soon, that just as the desire for a broad international coalition cannot be allowed to thwart our war aims, the hope of a bipartisan congressional coalition should not frustrate the efforts to promote growth in the economy, safety in the skies, and other national priorities.

An obituary for bipartisanship that ran on the *Times*'s editorial page points up the fundamental problem—for Republicans—with the call for putting allegedly partisan concerns aside: When partisanship is shelved, the media play referee—and blow the whistle only on the Republican team.

Here's an example. Democrats were reportedly "stunned" when the president said that his energy proposal should be included in the economic-recovery package; they said that he was exploiting the crisis "to ram through drilling in the Alaskan wilderness and tax breaks for big energy companies." In fact, there was no need for Bush to "ram through" the GOP energy proposal; it enjoys bipartisan Senate support. And Senate majority leader Tom Daschle was hardly bipartisan in what he did next: When it was clear that a majority of the Democratic-controlled Energy Committee supported the package, he yanked the bill from the committee to prevent its approval.

The education for heroism

makes available models and visions of heroic action against which students may test their own actions and experience. As Jacques Maritain indicates, poetry "is the secret life of each and all the arts"; all the disciplines are in some sense translations of a common *poetic* insight, an intuitive source too often ignored or forgotten by the rationalistic, secular mind.



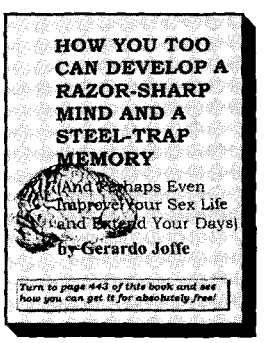
The Thomas More College of Liberal Arts
MERRIMACK, NH & ROME, ITALY
www.thomasmorecollege.edu (603) 880-8308
admissions@thomasmorecollege.edu

Faith and Reason Scholarship Essay Contest
FOUR-YEAR, HALF-TUITION SCHOLARSHIPS

Probably this year's most important self-improvement book...

"How You Too Can Develop a Razor-Sharp Mind..." Only $29.95*

*But see below for an even better deal!


HOW YOU TOO CAN DEVELOP A RAZOR-SHARP MIND AND A STEEL-TRAP MEMORY
(And Perhaps Even Improve Your Sex Life and Extend Your Days)
by Gerardo Joffe
Turn to page 443 of this book and see how you can get it for absolutely free!

It is scientifically proven: Your brain is like a muscle. Sit in front of the tube, preferably with a six-pack and a bag of potato chips and it will turn flabby and quite useless. Exercise it vigorously and you will indeed be able to develop a razor-sharp mind and a steel-trap memory. There may even be a bonus of better sex and longer life. And, finally, a rigorously exercised brain will not develop Alzheimer's disease. This breakthrough book (soft cover, 460 pages, 8-1/2" x 11" format) will be your trainer and monitor to your new well-developed brain.

Sid Tuchman of Indianapolis, IN says: *"What an astonishing book! One can almost hear those brain cells crackle!"* Hugh Cunningham, DDS, of Albany, GA says: *"This is marvelous! I already feel a whole lot smarter than before I immersed myself in Joffe's* **16-Level Paradigm.**" And Lloyd Hammett of Winnfield, LA says: *"If this book will not make you smarter, nothing will."*

We are the publishers of this book and are able to sell it for just $29.95. **But we have an even better deal: *Buy three books and we will let you have them for the price of two -- only $59.90!*** Your friends and relatives will thank you for this important gift. This book may (really!) change your life. Order it today!

Order directly from the publisher by toll-free phone (800) 600-2777, by fax (415) 356-7804, or by mail. Mention order code **1092Y175** and give Visa/MC # and expiration date, or send check for $29.95. Add $4.95 shipping/insurance for one book ($9.90 for three), plus sales tax for CA delivery. 30 days refund/return, except for shipping/insurance.

advance books
division of jomira/advance
470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804
Visit our website at www.hayerhills.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the *Times* editorial helpfully explains that if the president persists in pushing for this bill, which enjoys sufficient bipartisan support to pass the Senate, he will be responsible for the inevitable "filibusters and other disruptive tactics by opponents." In other words, liberal Democrats obstructing the Senate's will in order to promote environmental policies pleasing to the *Times* are disinterested public servants, but Republicans pressing for pro-growth tax cuts are destructive ideologues pursuing "what they know is an unsound economic approach." The phoniness of the media's notion of bipartisanship is evident, in that there's only one type of bipartisan coalition that meets with their approval: the kind in which Democrats and rogue Republicans join forces to advance liberal goals.

For the past month, Republicans have watched warily as White House officials appeared to hint that they are willing to sacrifice conservative policy goals—and the president's own policy preferences—in order to avoid the displeasure of House minority leader Dick Gephardt. The temptation to prolong Democratic cooperation following the September 11 attacks is understandable: Bush ran last year as "a uniter, not a divider," and dearly hoped to find in Washington some Democratic leaders like the late Bob Bullock, the powerful lieutenant governor who supported so many of then-Gov. Bush's policies in Texas. When cordial meetings and disarming nicknames failed to temper Democrats' familiar rhetoric about tax cuts for the rich, special favors for Big Oil, and extremist nominees who threaten civil rights, the president was clearly disappointed.

The unanimously positive reviews he has enjoyed for his conduct since September 11 appeared to present a new opportunity for a better policy relationship with the Democrats. It is, however, sadly obvious by now that Democrats are willing to provide that level of support only on issues beyond the water's edge. Gephardt, for example, was incensed when House Republicans decided to push an economic-recovery proposal that failed to include the Democrats' proposed billions in "stimulus" spending. The president's soaring popularity ratings have immunized him from direct criticism, so proxy targets—more easily demonizable—are blamed: Gephardt complained that "a strong minority in the majority party is putting the brakes on moving forward in a bipartisan way with measures that I think are very important."

On the evening of October 4, however, the tide turned against Gephardt's phony bipartisanship. Meeting with House Republican leaders at the White House, Bush said he thought an economic-recovery plan should focus on pro-growth tax cuts. According to House majority leader Dick Armey, the president then pointed out that plenty of new spending in the name of "stimulus" had already been approved. And Bush was right: So far this year, Congress has approved spending increases for next year that total $105 billion, including $60 billion in direct response to the September attacks. Armey then recommended that the House return to its usual practice of drafting and approving legislation through the committee system, rather than in the kind of bipartisan, bicameral leadership meetings that produced the airline-bailout bill and the initial emergency-recovery package. Armey reports that the president "didn't have to be convinced. He responded, 'Of course.'"

Dick Gephardt by Roman Genn

A week later, the Republican-led House Ways and Means Committee approved a $100 billion economic-recovery plan, including an elimination of the corporate alternative minimum tax, accelerated individual rate cuts, rebates for low-income workers, and a reduction in the capital-gains tax. The media referees, of course, cried foul over the party-line vote. The committee also—with the help of a couple of Democrats—approved a bill providing the president with trade-promotion authority; for this offense, the *New York Times* labeled Republicans unpatriotic wartime policy profiteers. (The news story began, "Disregarding the spirit of wartime bipartisanship . . .")

Worst of all, when House Republicans defend the president's position on enhanced airline security, the media completely ignore their policy arguments—for example, the fact that the Europeans and Israelis had bad experiences when public employees were performing the security duties—but are quick to accuse them of the basest partisan motives. According to CBS, Republicans who oppose federalizing airline baggage screeners "don't state their underlying fear that if baggage screeners become federal employees they'll probably join unions, and unions often support Democrats."

Prosecuting America's new war on terrorism is properly the administration's first priority, and the White House is right to want to avoid the kind of gratuitous partisan bickering that could sour congressional unity on the war front. But there is little reason for fruitless foraging for bipartisan consensus on crucial initiatives to improve the country's economy and security. In the end, the president himself—not Congress—will be held accountable for the economy and for airline security; he must insist on the most effective policies. On these and other important questions, there are profound differences between the parties, and these differences survived the September attacks. Democratic policy prescriptions were wrong for the country before September 11, and they remain wrong today. Ignoring this fact does the GOP—and the country—no favors. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE U.N. ■

Kofi's Hour

The absurd Nobel Peace Prize

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

THE Nobel Peace Prize is a little like the good-conduct prizes they used to award at my junior school: They went mainly to children who weren't much good at anything else, and weren't ruthless or imaginative enough to cause the teachers any trouble. The recipients, a bunch of teacher's pets and informers, were a sorry lot on the whole.

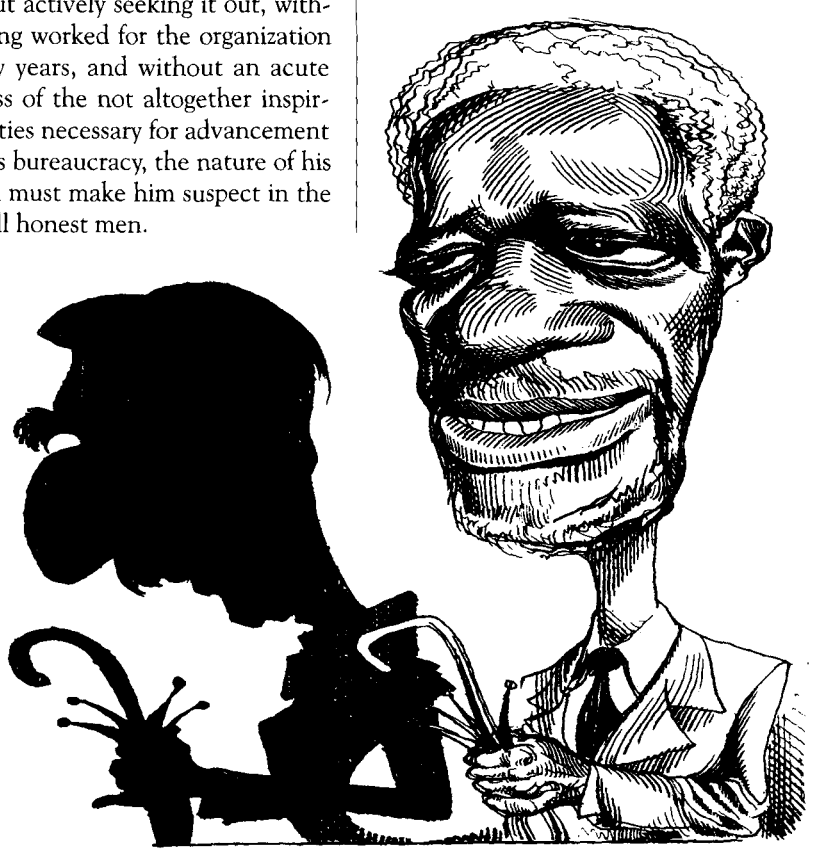
In the circumstances, therefore, it comes as no surprise that the secretary general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, should have been awarded this year's prize by the body in whose gift it lies, the Norwegian parliament, which is possibly the most politically correct legislative body in the world. The Norwegians haven't had a real leader since Quisling (a man also nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian work in Siberia in the 1920s).

Alas, the world hardly presents a spectacle of stability at the moment, to put it mildly, and some people might say that to award Mr. Annan the Peace Prize at such a moment is a little like the award of the Victoria Cross to Neville Chamberlain would have been on his return from Munich. Annan has been secretary general during a time of every kind of massacre, from the village variety to full-scale genocide—indeed, the only genuine such genocide since the end of the Second World War, namely that in Rwanda. It is a fair bet that the news of the award has not gone down well in Kigali, the capital of that unfortunate country, where between 500,000 and 800,000 people were massacred without so much as an interruption of the diplomatic round in New York. It is true that Annan has apologized for the United Nations' paralysis during the catastrophe, but in some cases it isn't really the thought that counts: It's the deed.

In a sense, though, it is pointless to hold poor Mr. Annan responsible for disaster in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and so forth. His job, as he puts it, is from hell. No one could do it and satisfy everyone. But the need, or even the desire, to satisfy everyone is what is so profoundly corrupting about the job. It is a job from hell only for a certain kind of person: a person, that is, with a degree of moral integrity, intellectual honesty, and self-respect. For the time-serving apparatchik, for the inveterate trimmer, for the sailor before the wind, and above all for the social climber with a lust for an eternal pension in Swiss francs, no billet in the world could be closer to paradise. Indeed, there could be no finer vantage point from which to be extremely important without actually doing anything. And since a man can hardly achieve a position such as that of secretary general without actively seeking it out, without having worked for the organization for many years, and without an acute awareness of the not altogether inspiring qualities necessary for advancement within its bureaucracy, the nature of his ambition must make him suspect in the eyes of all honest men.

Everyone has heard of the Homo sovieticus, the deformed human creature called forth by generations of life under Soviet rule; but few know of the existence of the Homo U.N.ensis.

U.N. man is every bit as deformed, mentally, as Soviet man. I first realized this in the Pacific, where I worked as a doctor and encountered World Health Organization careerists. Their motto was "Let my pension be paid, though the epidemic rage!" In a way, I felt sorry for those who had sold themselves to the U.N. organization: Faust himself was not in greater hock to Mephistopheles than they were to their multinational bureaucracy. In return for diplomatic status, an air-conditioned car with a flag, an adequate salary, and per diem allowances, they swore themselves to a strange kind of discipline, according to which they never said anything without clearing it first with someone higher up in the organization. They became mouthpieces of mouthpieces, and so on almost ad infinitum, until one reached the very pinnacle of power, or rather of alleged power: the man who spoke nothing but high-sounding platitudes, usually in several languages, all of them—including his



Kofi Annan, and the shadow of Chamberlain, by Roman Genn

Mr. Dalrymple is a British doctor, journalist, essayist, and novelist, and is a contributing editor of *City Journal*. His latest book is *Life at the Bottom: The Worldview That Makes the Underclass.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

native tongue—slaughtered unmercifully.

In the holy defense of a bureaucratic career with pension rights, no statement was ever too flagrantly or outrageously in contradiction to the most elementary reality to be propounded by the paladins of the organization. I remember a WHO representative who reported from the islands in which I worked that tuberculosis was under control and almost defeated, when 50 yards from his office door was a hospital overflowing with cases of tuberculosis. I saw at once that the man in question was destined to go far in his organization: He knew how apple carts were not upset.

No intellect can long survive the need to tailor not only words but thoughts themselves to bureaucratic imperatives. Working for the U.N. is to the brain what the hot frying pan is to the white of an egg. I have noticed it everywhere: U.N. officials are like the undead in vampire movies. They may exude a slightly oleaginous diplomatic charm, but they cannot look you in the eye, and nothing they say can ever be of any interest. Platitude becomes for them a way of life.

This does not mean, however, that they become completely unable to defend their personal interests when the need arises. I next witnessed the moral grandeur of the U.N. system in Somalia, whither I had gone to investigate a famine and an outbreak of cholera, from which scores were said to be dying daily. I visited the offices in Mogadishu of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, whose staff, however, were not working, in protest of the Somalian government's insistence that they exchange their dollars at the official rate, which was half the black-market (that is to say, the true) rate. A subsidiary complaint, posted on the notice board by a disgruntled humanitarian, was about the smallness of the portions served in the staff canteen—in circumstances of widespread famine, not an entirely tactful complaint.

One can't really blame a man such as Kofi Annan if he fails to demonstrate the toughness of mind that is necessary to do practical good when his career has necessarily been built upon a talent, and perhaps even a taste, for prevarication. But such men make a wilderness and call it peace. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Canines to the Rescue

Best friends, and examples

JONAH GOLDBERG

IT'S been widely remarked that the only allies we can count on from "the first . . . to the last" (Tony Blair's words) are the British. In a sense, this is true: The loyalty of our friends across the pond is peerless. But as the images of September 11's aftermath remind us, there is another, often overlooked comrade whose fidelity is even more impressive, at least in a statistical sense. For while the British are unique among some 200 nations, canine fidelity is unique among the more than 10 million species of the earth.

Recently I spent the better part of an afternoon about half a mile south of where the World Trade Center stood, with Tara, a three-year-old golden retriever employed by Michael Stanton Associates, a private security firm. Tara's job is to find bombs. Of course, she doesn't know that they are bombs; all she knows is that her human master wants her to find something that smells like plastic explosives, or TNT, or a dozen other dangerous substances. The only payment she will receive for this is a few moments fetching the ball with her boss.

This work ethic is the heart of canine exceptionalism. The dog is the only animal that volunteers for duty. If we want other animals—horses, oxen, mules, falcons, bears, or parrots—to come to our aid, we must either force them or bribe them. You might even call horses our slaves: Their spirit must actually be broken before they will agree to do anything for us. And, if the comparison of the jovial dog to the jovial Briton is a fair one, then the conclusion is unavoidable that cats share many attributes with our friends the French: They are coquettish when called, unavailable when needed, and always self-interested. If Lassie had been a cat, the barn would have burned down and Timmy would have starved to death at the bottom of the old well.

Long before the rubble settled in downtown New York, German shepherds, Labrador retrievers, and Rottweilers—as well as canines of less aristocratic lineage—were already pulling at their leashes to help with the search-and-rescue efforts. Locating the dead and searching (too often in vain) for the living is obviously an arduous and emotionally draining task for human beings, but it is no picnic for dogs either. The rubble provided unstable footing, was full of glass shards and twisted metal, and sometimes glowed red hot. Dangerous fumes, loud noises, and the equivalent of landslides were constant sources of distraction and peril. Dogs repeatedly had to limp out of the wreckage on bloody paws, the razor-edged debris slicing through even the leather boots distributed to some of them.

Worse, the stress associated with not finding survivors was extreme; dogs tasked with this assignment expect—*need*—to find survivors. "They don't like to find bodies. They'll find them, but they don't feel rewarded," veterinarian Douglas Wyler explained to the London *Daily Telegraph*. "The dogs are good, they're professionals, but like any professional they can suffer from melancholy and depression. It's hard for the men not to find anyone alive, and the dogs sense that."

But the dogs persevered. Consider Servus, a Belgian Malinois (a smaller version of the German shepherd) who arrived at the Twin Towers site with his owner, police officer Chris Christensen, the day after the disaster. While searching for survivors, Servus fell down a nine-foot hole into a mound of dust and debris. When they pulled him free, "he couldn't breathe," Christensen explained to London's *Sunday Herald Sun*. Servus tried to vomit, to no avail. By the time the convulsions started and Servus's tongue turned purple, between 20 and 30 men were gathered to help an animal they clearly considered a colleague (often, police dogs are given full-dress funerals). The canine was rushed to one of the veterinary MASH units set

Mr. Goldberg is editor of National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's Best Cigarette
FIND OUT WHY
FILTER CIGARETTES
CAMEL FILTERS
Marlboro
Parliament
LIGHTS
LUCKIES
AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL
SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.
America's Best Cigarette™ is a trademark, and Natural American Spirit® is a registered trademark of Santa Fe Natural Tobacco Company. All other names and marks are registered trademarks of their respective owners and are not affiliated with Santa Fe Natural Tobacco Company in any way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NATIONAL REVIEW online

"There's plenty of conservative thought on National Review Online."

—*Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*

". . . an excellent site that is updated constantly and frequently breaks news that the print magazine's bi-weekly schedule makes difficult."

—*Columbia Journalism Review*

"Unlike most websites . . . which simply post a partial list of that week's print stories, NRO presents up-to-the-minute commentary, sort of like the rapid-response tactics that successful campaigns employ."

—*New York Press*

"This is not your father's National Review."

—Committee of Concerned Journalists

WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

up to treat the rescue dogs as well as the numerous "civilian" animals and pets injured or abandoned in the surrounding residential areas.

The vets managed to resuscitate Servus, and he was given an IV. (It was not unusual to see rescue humans and rescue dogs lying beside one another, each with his own IV drip.) When the vets unstrapped the dog from the gurney and released him for some doggie R&R, he ran straight from the tent and leapt into the police car assigned to bring dogs to ground zero. "I couldn't believe it," Christensen told the *Sunday Herald Sun*. "I told him three times to get out and he just looked at me, so we went to work. We worked for seven hours."

Chris Corder

Near Manhattan's Ground Zero

Such dedication has inspired a growing effort in the scientific community to explain this age-old symbiosis between men and dogs. Until fairly recently, the study of dogs has been ignored by scientists more interested in more "authentic" animals—despite the fact that the domestic dog may be the second most successful of all mammal species, after human beings.

More to the point, their success is directly attributable to the fact that they have teamed up with human beings. I'm told that according to an American Indian legend, human beings and animals were separated by a great canyon in prehistory. Forced to choose sides, the dog decided to throw in his lot with man and leapt the chasm to live and work with us. The moral of the story is certainly true, though the choice was evolutionary as well as sentimental. Some, like nature writer Stephen Budiansky, take the story too far in the other direction. He argues that canines have mastered an evolutionary strategy that makes us love them: "Dogs belong to that elite group of con artists at the very pinnacle of their profession, the ones who pick our pockets clean and leave us smiling about it."

These cynics would have us believe that dogs—which have, in numerous documented cases, given their lives for human beings—are actually slyly exploiting an emotional glitch in people that makes us love soft, big-eyed furry things. This overlooks the obvious fact that we "con" dogs too; that they, in fact, love us as much as, if not more than, we love them. Allowing himself to be carried by crane hundreds of feet above the ground and then lowered into a smoldering pit of metal and glass defies every instinct a dog has, except one: to be a selfless friend of his ally and master. "Histories are more full of examples of the fidelity of dogs than of friends," observed Alexander Pope. "Heaven goes by favor," remarked Mark Twain. "If it went by merit, you would stay out and your dog would go in."

According to evolution totalitarians, I love my wife because I want to propagate my genes and attain an exemplary mother for my children. That may or may not be entirely true, but it doesn't diminish the fact that *I love my wife*. Correspondingly, my dog's genes may tell him to love me because I bring home the Alpo, but that doesn't mean he doesn't love me. And once that bond is established, who really cares what its genetic basis is? Everything wonderful about dogs stems not from the *why* of their affection, but from the fact of their affection.

There's no disputing that dogs do things for canine reasons. Many of their heroic acts can be attributed to misplaced maternal or other instincts. Newfoundlands have saved many people from drowning, but their instinct is just as strong to "save" banana crates and other flotsam. Tara—the ebullient golden retriever I looked for bombs with—doesn't know the details; all she knows is that she wants to please her human master.

And isn't that good enough? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to make intelligent, safe and cost-conscious decisions every time you buy insurance. At Quotesmith.com you get instant quotes from over 300 companies – and the freedom to buy from the company of your choice. It's fast, easy and free!

Instant Car Insurance Quotes

All in one place: instant quotes from leading companies make it easy to comparison shop.

Could you save 20% or more on car insurance? We've made it quick and easy to get instant car insurance quotes from leading insurers, all in one place.
Quotesmith.com is an ideal car insurance resource for drivers of every age.
At Quotesmith.com, we've even made it possible for you to point, click and buy online!

Popular with families: 10, 20 and 30 year term life insurance can give peace of mind.

Instant Term Life Insurance Quotes

Pick a rate guarantee and go! In seconds, you'll view policies, coverages, independent ratings, underwriting guidelines and premiums – all conveniently sorted by lowest cost.

Quotesmith.com makes it easy to compare health plans, features and prices.

Quotesmith.com Online!
File Edit InstantQuote Help

Quotesmith.com Incorporated

"We found the best deals at Quotesmith."
Money Magazine

"SmartMoney Interactive has rated Quotesmith the #1 site for online insurance quotes."
SmartMoney Online

"...make shopping for the cheapest insurance policy much easier."
Parents Magazine

"...the largest number of insurers..."
Jane Bryant Quinn

More instant insurance quotes than any place else on earth! Get instant quotes, view the latest ratings, examine vital policy coverages, view underwriting guidelines, buy from the company of your choice. Take control of your insurance decisions. Have questions? Want help? Call us toll-free at 1-800-556-9393, 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. Central time. California Services. CA #0827712, #OA13858, UT and Utah DBA Quotesmith.com Insurance #90093. Some companies are shown for purely informational purposes only. $500 guarantee is subject to the terms and conditions detailed at www.quotesmith.com.

Wow! Instant quotes from over 300 leading insurance companies right here and now

Fast Accurate Easy Unbiased Private

Instant Car Insurance Quotes

Instant Term Life Quotes
View America's lowest premiums
- or you get $500!

Instant Medical Insurance Quotes
- For individuals & families
- One employee or one family
- Groups of 2-100 employees

Instant Dental Insurance Quotes
Small Business/Families/Individuals

Instant Long-Term Care Quotes

Instant Annuity Quotes

Instant Medicare Supplement Quotes
Quick quotes for ages 65 & up

Quick-Issue Life Insurance Quotes
- No medical exams, speedy issue

Instant Boat, Watercraft, RV & Motorcycle Insurance Quotes

Instant Medical Insurance Quotes

Here is the quickest way possible to find health insurance coverage for yourself, your family or your small business.
Get instant quotes, scan the marketplace in seconds. You'll find standard plans, PPOs, HMOs, short term plans, dental plans and Medicare supplement plans all in one place at Quotesmith.com.
Participation by leading companies eliminates the hassle of buying medical insurance.

www.quotesmith.com

AD CODE:
NR 11/01

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

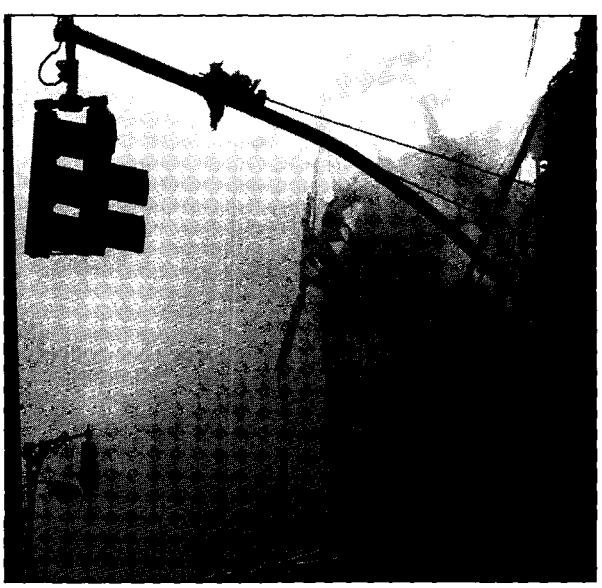
The New Cold War

Familiar battle lines, unfortunately

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

In front of our eyes, a new organizing principle is emerging in the world. Islamic extremism is an ideological challenge, and states have to respond to it accordingly. Another Cold War is taking shape. Its duration and scope are uncertain. President Bush is already speaking of a year or two, but some experts are forecasting as much as fifty years. The implications are global. Once more, people will be deciding what exactly freedom means to them.

Communist and Islamic extremism both have militaristic and imperial aims, directed to recruit where possible, and to attack elsewhere. Their claims to be universal imply the actual destruction of all other values. Communism turned out to be the Russian national interest in disguise. Soviet grievances against the West were unreal, but the expression of them was rational. In contrast, Islamic extremism has a restricted territorial base, and by definition cannot appeal to non-Muslims. The phenomenon arises from the complex interplay of an identity wounded by modernity, and the complete political and social failures of Muslim states. The grievances here are real, but their expression is irrational, even suicidal. Islamic extremism is therefore a more unpredictable and elusive enemy.



The failure of Muslim states seems to have taken the West by surprise. Decolonization, it was assumed after the world war, was the prelude to freedom. Emerging nationalist leaders like Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt were said to be "officers in a hurry," a phrase hiding the reality that under the khaki of their uniform were traditional tyrants intent on absolute rule. Such as it was, their modernization was at the expense of traditional Islamic identity. Fighting back, Muslims formed groups, some open, others clandestine, and all violent. In every country they appeared at first as a fringe minority, but dangerous to the state, therefore to be repressed. The Ayatollah Khomeini revolution in Iran fanaticized this minority to believe that power in other Muslim countries might be in their grasp.

A barbarous civil war between Islamic groups and the regimes in power has already spread through much of the Muslim world. Offering more of an identity than a program, Islamic extremists have been able to impose themselves only in Iran and Afghanistan, though in Algeria and even Egypt it has been—and still is—a close-run thing. During the past twenty years or so, fugitives from Islamic groups have been settling abroad, partly to escape the fearsome crackdowns in their homelands, and partly to pursue their cause in the countries of the West, where they exploit the rule of law and the structure of human rights that they have no intention of respecting for others.

Nobody knows how many such refugee extremists there are. Estimates range between 1,000 and 5,000. Organized to be self-contained, members of these groups cover their tracks with skill, making use of safe houses and false passports and identification papers. They appear to have acquired the techniques indispensable to subversion, with systems of communication, access to hidden funds, and the infiltration of "sleepers," or individuals planted to stay inactive until the moment arrives for whatever operation is planned for them. Communist cells throughout the West used to operate on just such lines, and Islamic extremists have shown themselves every bit as thorough and imaginative.

Most people in the West appreciated that the organizing principle of the Cold War had its either-or logic: for or against democracy. The NATO alliance was a symbol of the general will for self-defense, although in practice its military capacities and political inspiration were almost wholly American. Neither was the either-or logic absolute. Non-aligned countries played one superpower against the other, bidding for aid and weaponry in return for support. Following the example of Nasser, Arab countries specialized in this dubious variant of blackmail and made the Middle East an arena in which the Cold War was openly and regularly fought out. In Europe, the flashpoint was Germany, which had the particular misfortune to be divided between the two blocs, with the Berlin Wall to prove it. Successive West German leaders devised the policy of *Ostpolitik* to explore ways out of this predicament in the direction of neutrality and unification.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU HAVE 30 DAYS TO DECIDE. (THAT'S 29 MORE THAN YOU'LL NEED.)

THE BOSE® WAVE® RADIO/CD. No other system this small delivers the clear, natural, room-filling sound. Once you hear it, you'll know why we can confidently offer you a 30-day in-home trial – without obligation or risk. The performance is that convincing.

Only Bose gives you such rich, full sound from such small size. That's because only Bose has acoustic waveguide speaker technology. It's a patented breakthrough so revolutionary, it won us the prestigious "Inventor of the Year" award – one of the many innovations that help make us the most respected name in sound.

CALL US TOLL FREE AND DISCOVER A WHOLE NEW WAY OF LISTENING TO MUSIC. We'll ship the Wave® radio/CD or Wave® radio directly to your door. So you can listen for yourself, and make up your own mind. Then, if you can bear to part with it, return it to us within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price. We'll even arrange to have it picked up if you like. No questions asked. It's that simple.

Satisfaction

1-800-539-2073, ext.T7930

For more information on all our products: **www.bose.com/t7930**

Please specify when ordering:

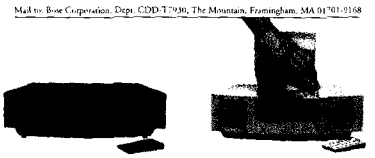
Wave® radio/CD: ❑ Platinum White or ❑ Graphite Gray

Wave® radio: ❑ Platinum White or ❑ Graphite Gray

NAME ADDRESS/CITY/STATE/ZIP

DAY PHONE EVENING PHONE

Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. CDD-T7930, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168



Wave® Radio *Wave® Radio/CD*

For Free Shipping order by Dec. 31, 2001.

Call for our interest-free payment plan that lets you make **12 low interest-free monthly payments.** And be sure to ask about our 30-day in-home trial which, we think you'll agree, provides 29 days too many.

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2001 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® radio design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Installment payment plan and free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases. Payment plan available on credit card orders only and subject to change without notice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Left in general did not share the either-or logic of the Cold War. "Better red than dead," was one of their slogans. A wide-ranging assortment of pacifists and Communist sympathizers, professors and students, Sixty-Eighters and Vietnam protesters, counter-cultural drop-outs, clergymen, Quakers, playwrights and actresses, historians and commentators in the mainstream press—revisionists one and all—liked to maintain that America was a greater threat to peace than the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of West Germans could demonstrate against the stationing in their country of the missiles that alone protected them. Defeatism appeared to accompany democracy.

THE NEW ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE

Under the immediate shock of the terror attacks, public opinion in the West was unanimously in favor of striking back at the main culprit, Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda group, to be followed by measures for the long-term containment of Islamic extremism in all its forms. "Every nation has a choice to make," President Bush declared as he laid the basis for the world's new organizing principle. "In this conflict there is no neutral ground." Osama bin Laden confirmed it: "These events have divided the world into two camps, the camp of the faithful and the camp of infidels."

China, Russia, and India are among countries with private agendas in choosing to side against Islamic extremism. Muslim and Arab countries are in the old non-aligned position of extracting maximum advantage in return for any support they may give. Pakistan and Uzbekistan offer military facilities conditionally. Confused as ever, unpopular, and breeding extremists through its unjust handling of domestic affairs, the ruling family of Saudi Arabia depends on the United States for its security—as West Germany once did—but dares not come out openly and say so, for fear of offending Muslims.

Israelis and Palestinians face each other across the new ideological divide in a dilemma that bears comparison to Germany's in the Cold War. Here is a continuous flashpoint. Israel must share territory with Palestinians, a growing number of whom are proven Islamic terrorists, and who identify with bin Laden's cause, as he identifies with theirs. Exploring terms of compromise and neutrality in conditions of incompatibility, the Oslo peace process is to the Middle East what *Ostpolitik* was to Germany and central Europe. Proposals to separate the two peoples physically on the ground spookily evoke the Berlin Wall.

■

Israelis and Palestinians face each other across the new ideological divide in a dilemma that bears comparison to Germany's in the Cold War. Here is a continuous flashpoint.

■

The moment the new organizing principles emerged, the same Cold War objectors of yesterday appeared as if they had been ready in the wings for a reprise. That too is spooky. Without a hiccup, the professors and students, actresses and clergymen, and all who used to hold that an aggressive United States was responsible for starting and pursuing the Cold War against a peace-loving Soviet Union, have adapted this self-accusation to present circumstances. The Left is again collecting petitions against war, mobilizing demonstrations in major cities, pleading that humanitarian considerations ought to exclude any military measures—never mind the victims of September 11—and calling for bin Laden to be brought before a court, an Alice-in-Wonderland prospect.

One egregious specimen typical among others in the media is an article in the *Washington Post* by Robert Malley. A member of President Clinton's National Security staff, Malley at present is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Lately he published a lengthy and casuistical defense of Yasser Arafat's no-saying at Camp David a year ago, and now he writes that there is no such thing as Islamic terrorism. There are simply Muslims who are angry at their own repressive regimes "and the American superpower that backs them." Malley might have checked himself to consider that the truly repressive regimes in the Muslim world are those of Saddam Hussein, Sudan, the ayatollahs in Iran, Qaddafi in Libya, the Assad dynasty in Syria . . . (and Malley's favorite Arafat is no liberal either). Far from backing these tyrants, in reality America has expressed censure, imposed sanctions, and sometimes taken outright military measures against them. Useful idiots are evidently with us always.

Bin Laden's declaration of war, broadcast on the Qatar-based television network al-Jazeera, has been widely judged a propaganda triumph, while faults of presentation are found

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NATIONAL REVIEW online

"National Review Online, the Internet iteration of William F. Buckley's venerable NATIONAL REVIEW, is the smartest, sassiest, most-enjoyable-to-read conservative site on the web today. . . . Fans can, and do, visit NRO's cleanly designed site throughout the day for fresh and frequently updated news and analysis from leading conservative commentators like John Podhoretz, Stephen Moore, Ramesh Ponnuru, and, of course, William F. Buckley Jr. . . . fresh, well-written."

—PoliticalProfessional.Com

WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Bush. Articles suggest that in the minds of some women the handsome and soft-spoken bin Laden is already in their apartment. At this level Uncle Joe used to be admired for his moustache. Other articles whimper that this is five minutes before bioterror and apocalypse. "Better Islam than anthrax"—but it's not quite catchy enough for a slogan.

NATO declared that the attack on America constituted an attack on all its members, but so far as is known, Britain is the only NATO country yet to provide any material help. A typical French commentator is afraid that "the blundering American giant may overreact." Germany's most prominent television anchorman, Ulrich Wickert, writes that, while President Bush is no murderer or terrorist, he and bin Laden have the same intolerant "thought structures." Schoolteachers and lecturers in "peace studies" and of course the novelist Günter Grass are busy condemning American attacks on Afghanistan, and accusing the United States of trying to remake the world to suit itself. Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi uttered the self-evident truth that "we should be confident of the superiority of our civilization, which . . . guarantees respect for human rights and religion. This respect certainly does not exist in Islamic countries." European leaders bludgeoned Berlusconi until he qualified what he had said and half-apologized.

The propaganda war matters because we are in for another long haul, in which the black arts of secret services must play a major part. Intelligence is the only effective method for eliminating terror networks like al-Qaeda already established throughout the West. Intelligence involves the underworld of double-agents, collaborators, and informers, and runs the risks of entrapment, blackmail, bribery, and murder. In extensive police work in a dozen countries, hundreds of Islamic extremists have already been arrested. In the Cold War, the testimony of defectors and Soviet dissidents steadily influenced public opinion. The courageous writers Kanan Makiya and Fouad Ajami and others can do the same for fellow Muslims victimized by those who claim to speak and act for them.

Much can go wrong. A military campaign in Afghanistan faces formidable obstacles of terrain and climate. The Taliban may merge into an even more brutal successor regime. Bin Laden may escape and live to fight another day. Panicky pressure to establish a premature or badly defined Palestinian state could well push Israel, Arafat, and the local Islamic extremists into a three-cornered showdown with unforeseen consequences, perhaps even regional war. Cowardly doublethink in Saudi Arabia or a coup by the mullahs in Pakistan might force those countries into the sphere of Islamic extremism. Unchecked, the misplaced defeatism of the Left is likely to demoralize public opinion as it did before.

Muslims have to define their identity for themselves; they alone can decide what part Islam has to play in their lives. The political and social failure of Muslim societies is not about to convert into success now or in the near future; outsiders anyhow have no say in the matter. But not long ago, the Free World created conditions in which people were able to liberate themselves from Soviet tyranny, and it has the chance to do the same now for those in the grip of another ideological tyranny. **NR**

Fatal Contact

The Western influence on Islamic radicals

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

THE more we learn about the men who destroyed the World Trade Center, the more mysterious they seem. That mystery does not, however, reside in their foreignness. Osama bin Laden, Mullah Omar, and various Muslim clerics with walk-on parts, hectoring crowds in Pakistan, look exotic enough in their long beards and flowing robes. If we ran into such figures in our travels, we would not be surprised to discover that they had very different religious and political beliefs from our own; we would, indeed, expect it, and make every effort to understand their exact meaning and to avoid giving unintended cultural offense. We might even think these men more foreign, in the sense of more remote from our concerns, than they are in reality.

But the men who actually hijacked the planes on September 11—men such as Hanji Hanjour, who flew a plane into the Pentagon, or Ziad Jarrah, who was at the controls of the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania—looked just like any number of Middle Eastern graduate students we have all met on American campuses or at London parties. And this should not surprise us, because that is what—among other things—they were. Mohamed Atta, the apparent ringleader of the hijackers in America, had enrolled at a technical university in Germany to learn engineering. Other hijackers also fit this pattern: They were Western-educated, spoke English or German, and had modern American tastes in several respects. Their friends and families, now baffled by what has happened, often say things like: "But he loved America—everything from jeans to hamburgers." If we had met them, we would probably have thought them more American than, as it turns out, they were in reality.

Cultural appearances can be deceptive—especially when people move in two cultures simultaneously. Islam and the West have been living in close proximity for 1,400 years, and in the last 200 years there has been a good deal of cultural interpenetration. In this process, Islam has learned more about the West than the West has about Islam. Despite the scrupulous work of scholars such as Bernard Lewis and J. B. Kelly, the sheer practical impact of the expanding West on the rest of the world has meant that more ordinary Muslims have some sort of cultural sense of America than ordinary Americans do of the Islamic world. In the last thirty years especially, a combination of immigration, Hollywood, the open doors of American academia, and the rise of multinational corporations has meant that millions of Muslims have been absorbing the West's cultural messages.

Does that mean they have become Western or American? In some cases, it does. Many Muslim Arabs have settled in the West, married Americans, gradually adopted American mores, and become Americans with only the slightest trace of hyphenation. Over time they may well develop a distinctively American version of Islam and export it back to the Muslim

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heartland of the Middle East—just as American Catholics, by adapting to the originally Protestant liberalism of the United States a hundred years ago, helped by their growing influence to shift the Vatican in a liberal direction.

Whether that is the dominant response, however, will depend *inter alia* on what America and Americans do. For, as Mohamed Atta and his colleagues demonstrate all too horribly, there are other cultural possibilities for those living in two worlds. Some fiercely reject the new society into which they have moved. Its culture may strike them as corrupt or godless; its prosperity and power may awaken resentment rather than gratitude; and its internal critics may prove hospitable—and persuasive. Whatever the reason, some people reject an American future and ricochet backwards into their own tradition—except, of course, that the tradition they seek is no longer the uncomplicatedly comforting one of their youth but one subtly distorted by their rejection of American modernity.

GOING RADICAL

At some point in his life—a *Wall Street Journal* article dates it in the mid 1990s—Atta became a born-again Muslim. He rediscovered his religion and his cultural roots: "He grew a traditional beard. He interrupted his graduate studies in 1995 to make a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia. In 1996, at the age of 27, he made out a will requesting a strict Muslim funeral. Women, especially pregnant women, and 'unclean people' were to be excluded. Mourners were instructed not to cry."

Karl Marx by Ismael Roldan

The Islam to which Atta "returned," however, was not one of the relatively relaxed strains available in the Arab world, but radical Islamism. This is a harsh, puritanical, politicized version of Islam, which—while it claims to return to the first traditions of the religion—actually couples them to radical strains in Western political thought. As U.P.I. commentator James C. Bennett has observed, radical Islamism is the "bastard child" of fundamentalist Islam and of the neo-Marxist theories of dependency that explain Third World poverty as the result of Western exploitation. These neo-Marxist theories are transparent nonsense—they are refuted by a mountain of evidence, notably by the fact that the European colonial powers grew richer, not poorer, after losing their colonies—but for someone from the Middle East, they are very comforting. In one fell swoop they account for the long decline of Islamic civilization after a millennium of great achievement, for the failure of today's Muslim societies to modernize and prosper, for the corrupt and cruel dictatorships that govern them, for their inability to "solve" the "problem" of Israel, and for the political and cultural dominance of the West. They offer the ever-soothing, catch-all explanation: "We wuz robbed."

And the Islamic fundamentalism that incorporates such theories might have had a further attraction for Atta. They reflected an experience that, in some respects, was like his own. As Daniel Pipes pointed out six years ago in *First Things*, radical Islamism was the invention of Westernized intellectuals at home in both Islam and the West—and sometimes more at home in the West:

> Turabi of the Sudan has advanced degrees from the University of London and the Sorbonne . . . Abbasi Madani, a leader of Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), received a doctorate in education from the University of London. His Tunisian counterpart, Rashid al-Ghannushi, spent a year in France and since 1993 makes his home in Great Britain . . . Mousa Mohamed Abu Marzook, the head of Hamas's political committee, has lived in the United States since 1980, [and] has a doctorate in engineering from Louisiana State University . . .

As might be expected, the Islam shaped by such people is not a gentle recovery of tradition but an Islam reshaped into an aggressive modern ideology in the light of Western experience. In all sorts of ways, argues Pipes, they import Western concepts into Islamic practice. They seek to centralize the traditionally decentralized Islamic clerisy as it if were the Catholic Church. They see Islam less as a religion for saving men's souls and more as a political doctrine for running a society. They seek—contrary to long practice—to subject non-believers to Islamic sacred law. And in all these things they seek to increase the political power of the Islamic world as a main aim of Islam the religion.

In the *Los Angeles Times*, however, Khaled Abou El Fadl of UCLA Law School noted a key disjunction between traditionally Islamic views and the terrorist ideologies that claim to represent Islam. He pointed out that although almost all modern Muslim terrorist groups employ theological justifications for their behavior, in fact their ideologies, language, and symbolism are all drawn from the political "liberation" struggles of the last two centuries: "Expressions such as *hizb* (party), *tahrir* (liberation), *taqrir al-masir* (self-determination), [and] *harakah* (movement) . . . are imported from national liberation struggles against colonialism and did not emerge from the Islamic heritage."

It would be going much too far, of course, to disassociate Islam entirely from the attack on the World Trade Center. All the perpetrators believed themselves to be pious Muslims fighting in a holy war and headed directly to Paradise; they were given support in this belief by some Muslim clerics; a significant section of Islamic opinion has applauded what they did; some passages in the Koran lend themselves to justifying such acts (others, of course, condemn them); and whatever else Atta and his accomplices murdered and died for, it was not solely from belief in Leninism. Some of the malign energy that inspired their crime was nurtured by the widespread Islamic resentment at the power and prosperity of the (once-) Christian West.

And that requires explanation. After all, many non-Westerners have visited the great capitals of the West, and tasted their cultures, in the last two centuries. Some frankly preferred their own customs and returned home. Of the great

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority who were impressed, however, very few were also hostile and vengeful. Most wanted to continue living in the culture of freedom and prosperity even if they could not stay geographically in the West. They tried, sometimes naively, to transplant that culture into their own societies in the hope of effecting a renaissance in their own civilization. They wanted to return to the West frequently and, when that was not possible, they did so in imagination by subscribing to its books and magazines.

The difference between the reactions of those visitors and the response of a Mohamed Atta may lie less in their respective personalities than in the reception they received. Visitors in the 19th century encountered a more self-confident society—one that was proud of its achievements, and was prepared to proclaim its own superiority to societies that were less free and less prosperous. There were drawbacks to such civilizational egoism, of course. But the test of practice suggests that it invited admiration, whereas the West's recent cultural relativism (at best) and cultural self-flagellation (at worst) seem to invite contempt, hostility, and attack.

Another test of practice is about to begin: war. Whether the contempt for us exhibited by Atta, bin Laden, and much of the Muslim world is justified will now be demonstrated in the clearest possible way. But so what? Their opinion of us should matter much less to us than our opinion of ourselves. For in the end, our opinion of ourselves will determine their opinion as well. **NR**

Under Our Very Noses

The terrorist next door

ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

As U.S. and British bombs strafe Afghanistan's sparse landscape, it is comforting to think that we are striking at the heart of Islamic extremism. Yet while Osama bin Laden's network is clearly a major coordinating and breeding ground for terror, not all the terrorists who attacked America on September 11 were the products of the Islamic Middle East and South Asia. Many became extremists while living in the West, sustained by fanatical mullahs and organizations that operate openly in our midst.

It is indeed reassuring to view the terrorists who now threaten us as an exogenous threat rooted in the Middle East's Hobbesian environment of obscurantism, poverty, and repres-

Mr. Karatnycky is president of Freedom House.

Tax cuts are bad!

Deregulation hurts consumers

HIGHER TAXES ARE GOOD

Economic growth fuels inflation

America should be more like Europe

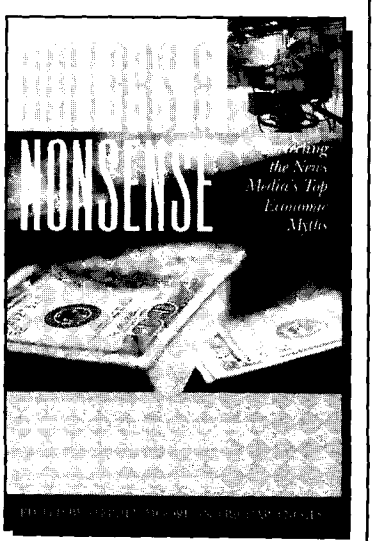
It's one thing to have Tom Daschle and Dick Gephardt promoting a liberal economic agenda. It's another when it's done by the media as "objective news."

Introducing the Media Research Center's latest book:

DOLLARS & NONSENSE:

Correcting the News Media's Top Economic Myths

Featuring essays from America's Leading Economists, Including Milton Friedman, Lawrence Kudlow, Arthur Laffer, and more



Only $16.95 — Hurry while supplies last, less than 2,000 copies left from the first print.

Call TODAY! (800) 672-1423*

*Mention this NR ad and get a **Term Limits for News Anchors** bumpersticker ***FREE!***

The Media Research Center is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit research and education organization.
325 South Patrick Street • Alexandria, VA 22314 • www.MediaResearch.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion—but police and press investigations offer evidence of a far more complex, and ominous, picture.

The key hijackers, including Mohamed Atta, were well-educated children of privilege. None of them suffered first-hand economic privation or political oppression. Equally important, it is becoming clear that hundreds, if not thousands, of graduates of bin Laden's schools for terror are Muslims who have grown up and been educated in the United States and Europe.

To understand the September 11 terrorists, we should have in mind the profile of the classic revolutionary: deracinated, middle class, shaped in part by exile. In other words, the image of Lenin in Zurich or London; or of Pol Pot and Ho Chi Minh in Paris. Like their Leninist revolutionary forebears, the terrorist shock troops of al-Qaeda see their mission as an international revolution—in their case, to create the *khilafah*, a global government under Islamic rule. For them, Islamism is the new universal revolutionary creed, and bin Laden is Sheikh Guevara.

Mohamed Atta was the son of a moneyed Egyptian lawyer and official, and those who knew him have described him as a class snob and snazzy dresser. Atta spent his last nine years living in Germany and the U.S. While he may have been linked to activist groups in Egypt, there is nothing in his record that indicates that he was a committed political extremist or even deeply religious. Rather, there is significant evidence that he came to his fanatical beliefs in Hamburg—home to as many as 2,500 Islamic radicals in a community of some 80,000 Muslims. No longtime Islamist "sleeper" deposited from the East, he was shaped by the environment of extremist Islamic politics at a German technical university.

FBI/Getty Images

A face of terror

Another hijack leader, Ziad Jarrah, was the son of well-off Lebanese parents who subsidized his life in the West, wiring thousands of dollars to support his academic studies and pilot's training. Educated in Lebanon at exclusive private Christian schools, Jarrah played basketball, drank alcohol, and while in the U.S. drove a red Mitsubishi Eclipse. He is unlikely to have been a committed Islamic radical in Lebanon; he went to Germany soon after concluding high school. Another key terrorist, Marwan al-Shehhi, came from this same Hamburg community, where, according to a terrorism export quoted in the *Boston Globe*, "there is a lot of peer pressure" to embrace radical Islam.

Counterintelligence operations and arrests around Europe have confirmed that other suspected plotters came to their radical views in the West. Zacarias Moussaoui—now being held by federal authorities in New York—became radical in 1991 under the influence of a Wahhabi group at his university in France. Djamel Beghal, now under arrest in France, has admitted to organizing a conspiracy to blow up a U.S. cultural center. Beghal grew up in the Paris suburbs and lived in London from 1997 to 1999, where he recruited future terrorists from Muslims who had also grown up in Europe.

HOMEGROWN EXTREMISTS

As the dragnet widens in Germany, France, and Britain, more attention is being focused on the significant network of "religious" political groups. The website of the Islamist, London-based al-Muhajiroun, Arabic for "the émigrés," offers a global map of the organization's branches in England, the U.S., Lebanon, and Pakistan. A press release issued by the group on September 16 screams, "USA at War with Islam." Among the group's slogans are "USA, You Will Pay" and "The Final Hour Will Not Come Until the Muslims Conquer the White House." Their goal is a world state under Islamic rule.

Al-Muhajiroun's "spiritual" leader, Sheikh Omar Bakri Muhammed, is a Syrian cleric who after the September 11 attacks issued a fatwa branding Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf an apostate and non-Muslim. Earlier fatwas by the sheikh (who lives on the dole, courtesy of British taxpayers) denounce as apostates Muslims who run for office in Britain and brand as sinners those Muslims who vote in British elections. A February 2001 report in the *Guardian* noted that "Sheikh Bakri has openly admitted to being responsible for sending as many as 700 undergraduates to fight abroad, mostly in Kashmir."

A mosque in London's Finsbury Park is home base for Supporters of Sharia (SOS), "sharia" meaning the Islamic way of life and law. The group is headed by Abu Hamza, a cleric who lost both arms and an eye fighting in Afghanistan. Such battle-hardened fanatics have gravitated to the West in part because of the freedom of maneuver and expression they enjoy in democratic societies. Under the guise of religious practice, they are now engaged in the education of new generations of vengeful fanatics, some of whom they inspire to learn from bin Laden the arts of terror and war. Hundreds of British Muslims already have been recruited to fight in Afghanistan, the Balkans, Kashmir, and Chechnya; many eventually become part of the bin Laden terrorist network.

Conversion to extremist Islamism is a significant phenomenon in the U.S. There are many cases of young American-born Muslims from secular or traditional Islamic families who embrace radical beliefs, often through on-campus political and "religious" networks. U.S.-based radicals inspired by Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman were behind the murder of Meir Kahane, the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, and a plot to blow up New York City tunnels and the U.N. complex. Jordanian authorities stopped a terrorist attack on a 400-room hotel in Amman. The ringleader was an American-born Muslim, Raed Hijazi, who grew up in a privileged family, studied business administration at Cal State, and, according to Jordanian prosecutors, got his taste of radical Islamic teaching at a mosque near his Sacramento campus, whose mullah inspired him to join the mujaheddin in Afghanistan, where he became acquainted with the bin Laden network. A California Islamist website (www.khalifornia.org) promoted the need for a khalifa (a ruler who will build the worldwide Islamic state under strict religious laws), and this idea is routinely discussed at Muslim student forums in the U.S.

All this makes clear that many of the terrorists we are now confronting are a Western phenomenon, existing inside the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Islamic diaspora that is an established fact of life in the U.S. and Europe. In this sense, the terrorists may have as much in common with the radicals spawned in the U.S. and the industrial democracies in the 1960s as with the shock troops of Hamas or Hezbollah.

Like the leaders of America's Weather Underground, Germany's Baader-Meinhof Gang, Italy's Red Brigades, and Japan's Red Army Faction, the Islamic terrorists were university-educated converts to an all-encompassing neo-totalitarian ideology. Just as the terrorists who plagued the industrial democracies in the '60s and '70s lionized Leninist guerrillas like Uruguay's Tupamaros, the Islamist terrorists are youthful members of a bored middle class who have grown contemptuous of "soft" and corrupt elites and are drawn to the romance of revolutionary guerrilla movements.

The Weather Underground and Baader-Meinhof Gang, too, targeted government buildings, military and police headquarters, and banks and other symbols of our economic system. And still other parallels are worth keeping in mind. The terrorist gangs that operated in the West received logistical and financial support from the intelligence services of the Communist bloc. Some of them found refuge and remain to this day in Leninist havens like Cuba and North Korea. Sudan, Afghanistan, and Iraq play the same role for Islamist terrorists.

And this means that the war against terrorism will require relentless efforts within the borders of the West even as it is prosecuted in the far-flung outposts of the Islamic world. It means that networks of terrorists may well be found among students and scholars who today walk the halls of Western universities and congregate after hours in sundry political and "religious" groups, not as "sleepers" ready to act under orders, but as Islamic radicals minted right here. This will pose key challenges for our open societies as we seek to understand the topology of the Islamic diasporas and their religious, political, civic, and charitable institutions, while preserving our own values of tolerance.

It certainly is true that bin Laden and his associates helped finance, train, and sustain the terrorist-hijackers and must remain a top priority. But it is wishful thinking for Americans and Europeans to assume that fighting terrorism is only a matter of smart missiles, special-forces operations, the uprooting of financial support networks, pressure on terror-sponsoring states, and the implementation of tighter border and immigration controls.

The terrorist threat can be disrupted and diminished with such techniques, if pursued rigorously and relentlessly over a long time. But it cannot be eliminated unless we are also prepared for a comprehensive effort to understand and interdict the threats emerging on our own shores and throughout the Western world. Such an effort must not be driven by hysteria or ignorance, nor should it lead to scapegoating or other injury to the millions of law-abiding Muslims who are now part of the West. Indeed, such a careful domestic antiterrorism effort should be something that decent Arab and Islamic groups not only welcome but aid.

The long shadow of Osama bin Laden now hovers over the West—but it is joined by the shadows of the many new bin Ladens, whose despicable beliefs are taking shape in our own cities, and suburbs, and schools. **NR**

In Castro's Service

The undertold story of Cuba's spying, and terror

JOHN J. MILLER

"ATTENCIÓN! Attención!" snaps the female voice in Spanish at the start of each broadcast. To all but a few listeners, the message that follows is perfectly unintelligible: a long series of seemingly random numbers that drone on for 50 minutes. Just about anybody with a shortwave radio can hear them several times a day at various frequencies, though their intended audience is small. To these few recipients, however, they make exquisite and terrible sense—because they are spies in the service of Fidel Castro's Cuba.

It's not clear how often Ana Belen Montes tuned in to these so-called numbers stations, but there's little doubt that she did or that some of the signals were sent specifically for her. FBI agents on a search warrant last May sneaked into her apartment and checked the hard drive of a laptop computer she kept there. They found sequences matching those that had been broadcast previously, instructions on how to run them through a decryption program that turns the numbers into words, and messages she traded with Cuban spymasters.

On September 21, agents arrested Montes at the Defense Intelligence Agency's headquarters at Bolling Air Force Base in Washington, D.C., where she worked as the DIA's top Cuba expert. Assuming the charges against her are true—she won't enter a plea before November 5—Montes's actions probably will go down as the Cuban intelligence service's most spectacular penetration of the U.S. national-security apparatus. Montes had access to highly classified information and regularly briefed policymakers on matters involving Cuba. If Havana had been given a choice about where it would most like to place a spy, the sensitive DIA post held by Montes certainly would have made the short list.

How badly Montes damaged U.S. interests remains an open question. She surely doesn't rank with the Soviet Union's two deadliest American spies, Aldrich Ames and Robert Hanssen, even though their lawyers, Plato Cacheris and Preston Burton, now represent her. An FBI affidavit says she blew the cover of at least one agent (who survived the betrayal) and delivered "information relating to the national defense of the United States, with the intent and reason to believe that the information was to be used to the injury of the United States and to the advantage of Cuba." Yet Montes is only part of a bigger problem—a broad espionage effort waged by Cuba against the United States that has brought death to Americans. There's even a startling connection between Cuba and the September 11 terrorist strikes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MONTES PENETRATION

As the Cold War recedes into history, there's been a growing suspicion that the United States takes the Cuban threat too seriously—and specifically that Cuba policy is "held hostage" to an outspoken minority of Florida swing voters. New evidence from the Montes case and elsewhere, however, strongly suggests that we haven't been treating the Cuban threat seriously *enough*.

If September 11 had been just another day, Montes probably would still be at large—and under the close watch of FBI agents. They only began to investigate her in May, acting on information whose source and nature remain undisclosed. They followed Montes around Washington all summer as she embarked on numerous roundabout journeys to pay phones, where—it is believed—she communicated with her handlers. Agents rummaged around her apartment twice and found additional proof linking her to Cuban intelligence. Normally the FBI does not pounce after only a few months of surveillance—sometimes it waits for years as it quietly builds a case against a spy and patiently tries to discover the identities of her contacts. Yet the FBI moved against Montes with unusual speed, taking her into custody less than two weeks after the terrorist attacks. The possibility that she would pass along vital information to the Cubans, who then might share it with America's other enemies, was a risk not worth taking.

Montes started working at DIA in 1985, and was assigned to Cuba seven years later. The FBI believes she's been a spy since at least the fall of 1996. She's tall and slender, looking a bit younger than her 44 years. Plenty of Cuba experts know Montes from attending her briefings or sitting with her at other meetings, such as those sponsored by Georgetown University's Caribbean Project. In public she was reserved, as intelligence officers are prone to be, but behind closed doors she left distinct impressions. "She was a severe person, a hard-edged person," recalls Richard Nuccio, a Cuba adviser in the Clinton White House. She was also well known for advocating a softened Cuba policy—to the point where at least two people with links to intelligence had expressed concern over her views long before anybody questioned her loyalty. Her motivation for spying remains a mystery: The FBI affidavit says nothing about payments. By all appearances she lived modestly, fighting her landlord over tenant dues and driving a Toyota Echo. She is of Puerto Rican heritage. And there don't seem to be any obvious expressions of Communist sympathy in her past.

Fidel Castro in Arafat gear, by Roman Genn

After her arrest, an important 1998 DIA report—suggesting that Cuba no longer poses much of a strategic threat to the United States—was immediately called into question. As the DIA's senior Cuba specialist, Montes would have exercised a major influence over the final product. When the report was completed, in fact, defense secretary William Cohen considered it too weak. He toughened the language, though not to the extent Castro's strongest critics would have liked. The broader problem with the report, however, is that it reflects the views of the foreign-policy establishment, which continues to downplay Cuba. Castro has "done good things for his people," said secretary of state Colin Powell at an April 26 House hearing. "He's no longer the threat he was."

It's true that ever since the Soviet Union quit its role as patron, Cuba has suffered from chronic cash shortages, and it desperately relies on the tourist dollars of Canadian and European vacationers. Yet it does continue to pose a significant threat. Castro maintains the ability to spark a migration crisis whenever he wants, and Cuba is a money-laundering magnet. Even more worrisome is Cuba's biological-weapons capability. Castro may not be willing to provide his people with aspirin, but he has invested heavily in a biotechnology infrastructure with frightful capabilities. José de la Fuente, a top Cuban scientist who escaped the island by boat in 1999, said recently that Castro's minions know how to manufacture anthrax bacteria and the smallpox virus.

Then there's the espionage. By using an agent such as Montes to influence threat assessments, Havana may hope to build support for ending the U.S. economic embargo. A less menacing Cuba, after all, is a more attractive trading partner. A House vote on lifting the embargo drew 201 votes earlier this year—a failure, but tantalizingly close to success.

A more direct benefit from Montes involved specific knowledge of U.S. contingency planning—in other words, secret information on how the American government intends to respond to potential crisis situations. Shortly before Montes observed a war-games exercise put on by the U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Va., for instance, she received this message from Cuba: "Everything that takes place there will be of intelligence value. Let's see if it deals with contingency plans and specific targets in Cuba, which are prioritized interests for us." This type of knowledge helps Cuba understand how much it can provoke the U.S. without suffering consequences. What would happen, for instance, if it encouraged a throng of women and children to climb the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fences at the Guantánamo Bay naval base? Or if it tried to spark a new Mariél boatlift incident?

BLASTED FROM THE SKIES

If Montes represents one major prong of Cuban espionage, another recently has come to light in Miami. Over the last three years, the government has indicted 16 members of a spy ring called La Red Avispa, or the Wasp Network. Five admitted involvement following their arrests, another five were convicted in June, two more pled guilty in September, and four have fled the country. Just like Montes, they communicated with Havana by unlocking coded messages received over shortwave radios. The Wasp Network did just about everything, from counting takeoffs at a Key West airbase to attempting the penetration of military facilities. Their most successful operation, however, involved the infiltration of anti-Castro exile groups. "The Miami community is heavily penetrated," says Mark Falcoff, a Latin Americanist at the American Enterprise Institute. "It's full of provocateurs who try to embarrass and discredit Cuban-Americans. We saw them out in full force during the Elián González controversy."

Some of the Wasp Network's deeds were relatively modest, such as making hostile phone calls to *Miami Herald* editors in the name of anti-Castro groups; the point was to create tension between the press and certain Cuban-American leaders. Other actions, however, were monstrous. Two members, René González (code name: Castor) and Juan Pablo Roque (code name: German), succeeded in joining Brothers to the Rescue, an organization that flies private planes over the Florida Straits in search of people fleeing Cuba in rickety rafts. Once inside the group, they obtained closely held flight schedules, which they passed along to Wasp Network leader Gerardo Hernandez. He transmitted these to Havana in early 1996. Cuba then sent back an order: "Under no circumstances should agents German or Castor fly with BTTR or another organization on days 24, 25, 26, and 27." They didn't—and on February 24, 1996, three planes piloted by the Brothers departed on one of their humanitarian missions. There's been some dispute over whether they actually entered Cuban airspace, but none over the fundamental fact of what happened that day: A Cuban MiG jet destroyed two of the planes, killing four people. A week after the shootdown, Cuban intelligence sent its Miami agents a congratulatory message through a numbers station: "We have dealt the Miami Right a hard blow, in which your role has been decisive." They called their murderous effort "Operation Scorpion."

Some have speculated that one of the captured Wasp Network spies provided federal agents with the information that led them to Montes. This seems unlikely. "The Cuban intelligence service is one of the best in the world," says a former CIA official. They almost certainly would have built firewalls between Montes and the Wasp Network. Yet it's difficult to keep all their efforts completely compartmentalized.

What makes Cuban espionage especially troubling now is the Castro regime's longstanding support of terrorism. Cuba is one of the seven countries on the State Department's terrorism list. It may not compare to Iraq or the Taliban, but its indulgence of terrorists is beyond dispute. Last year, Cuba was the only country attending the Ibero-American Summit in Panama that refused to join a condemnation of terrorism. This spring, Castro toured Libya, Syria, and Iran. At Tehran University on May 10, the dictator declared, "Iran and Cuba, in cooperation with each other, can bring America to its knees. The U.S. regime is very weak, and we are witnessing this weakness from close up."

Some 20 fugitives from American justice currently call Cuba home, including Victor Gerena, who pulled off a $7 million bank robbery in Connecticut in 1983 as a member of the terrorist group Los Macheteros. He's currently on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list, and much of what he stole is believed to have made its way to Cuba in diplomatic pouches. Los Macheteros is also responsible for the ambush of a Navy bus in Puerto Rico that left two sailors dead in 1979 and an attack on a Puerto Rico Air National Guard base in 1981 that wrecked eleven planes. Other terrorist links to Cuba involve more recent activities: On August 11, Colombian officials arrested three members of the Irish Republican Army as they returned from a part of the country controlled by the narcoterrorist group FARC. Two were explosives experts and the third, Niall Connolly, has been identified as Sinn Fein's Havana representative.

■

Cuba is one of the seven countries on the State Department's terrorism list. It may not compare to Iraq or the Taliban, but its indulgence of terrorists is beyond dispute.

■

Then there's the bizarre case of Mohammed Raza Hassani, Nez Nezar Nezary, and Ali Sha Yusufi—three Afghan men recently detained in the Cayman Islands. They carried fake Pakistani passports and claimed to have gotten off a boat bound for Canada from Turkey. The police commissioner, however, determined that they actually had arrived by plane from Cuba. They were still in the Caymans on August 29 when a local radio station received an anonymous note saying that they share an association with Osama bin Laden. "The three agents are here organizing a major terrorist act against the U.S. via an airline or airlines," said the letter. The station gave it to the authorities. Soon after September 11, they tracked down its author, Byron Barnett, a local building contractor, who says his note was "pure speculation" and based on "a premonition." This incident has received scant attention from the media.

It's a startling story, perhaps even revelatory; then again, maybe there's nothing to it apart from amazing coincidence. But what is beyond doubt is that even though the Wasp Network has been busted and Ana Belen Montes is under arrest, those Cuban numbers stations continue to broadcast their coded messages several times each day.

Who is listening to them? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Economic Imperative

Bush and the Republicans *cannot* let this drop

STEPHEN MOORE

THE post–September 11 spirit of bipartisanship was suddenly shattered during a House Ways and Means Committee meeting, when Republicans suggested a capital-gains tax cut as an emergency economic stimulus. Charlie Rangel of New York, the ranking Democrat on the committee, embarked on a fist-pounding tirade denouncing the Republicans for exploiting the tragedy of terrorism to advance their "right-wing tax-cutting agenda." A few days later, John Spratt, the ranking Democrat on the House Budget Committee, lambasted the capital-gains discussion as "unconscionable" in a time of national crisis. Senate majority leader Tom Daschle piled on, advising the White House not to cave in to the "extreme voices" advocating a "divisive approach" to the stimulus bill. Translation: Even in a plunging economy, congressional Democrats will never abandon their quasi-religious opposition to capital-gains cuts.

Unfortunately, to preserve the veneer of bipartisanship, the White House has succumbed to these tirades. President Bush's economic advisers have always—inexplicably—been unenthusiastic about capital-gains cuts anyway, so the passionate opposition by liberal Democrats has convinced the Bush political team that it's now doubly wise to shelve the idea. In a meeting with investment icon Charles Schwab, Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill rebuffed Schwab's plea for a capital-gains cut, calling it a "deal-breaker." But it's only a deal-breaker because the Bush economic team, representing a president with an 85 percent approval rating, refuses to endorse the idea.

O'Neill's quick surrender has only emboldened the left-leaning Democratic leadership. They are now insisting that any speed-up of income-tax-rate cuts should apply only to the lower brackets, not to the highest and most punitive rates.

So the White House, which has handled the military and coalition-building aspects of the current crisis with such mastery and professionalism, is fumbling the economic-stimulus plan. Republicans are inching closer to agreeing to a stimulus plan with tens of billions of dollars in new government expenditures (which will depress the economy instead of resuscitating it), more tax rebates (which are close to being economically worthless), and targeted tax-rate cuts (which avoid cutting the rates that matter most).

The administration is in search of its economic orthodoxy, and it's being tugged in multiple directions.

One problem is that the White House apparently gets its economic advice from all the wrong places. Bush has announced that he is "listening to the voices of leading economists" in constructing a stimulus package. This is dreadful news, because the vast majority of modern business and academic economists have a wrong-headed view of how the world works. The supply-side model that Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher employed to change the world in the 1980s is still in disrepute with most traditional Keynesians, who found themselves cast aside in the low-inflation, low-tax prosperity of the 1980s and '90s.

Most "leading economists" opposed Reaganomics. As a consequence, it is now Clintonite Robert Rubin and Fed chairman Alan Greenspan, not Reagan supply-siders, who are crafting the president's stimulus plan.

This administration is clearly in search of its economic orthodoxy, and it's being tugged in multiple directions. Bush has described his administration's economic philosophy as "both supply-side and Keynesian"; of late, the emphasis seems to be on the Keynesianism, as with the administration's absurd claim that the $40 billion emergency spending enacted the week after September 11 would provide a quick "stimulus to the economy." (This contention prompted Congressman Paul Ryan of Wisconsin—one of the rising stars of the House GOP—to send around a copy of a famous chapter from Henry Hazlitt's classic *Economics in One Lesson*. The chapter, entitled "Broken Windows," reminds us that breaking windows so as to create jobs repairing them is not an intelligent way to build prosperity.)

Of course, the demand-side Keynesian model preaches that economic growth is driven by consumer and government purchases, and I am told that the Fortune 500 CEOs who have visited the White House since September 11 are almost universally obsessed with this idea. They have begged the president to get customers into their stores. The problem with this idea is that it has already been tried, and failed. Japan—with the fastest-growing government spending and debt of any nation in the industrialized world—has been trying it for eleven years now, and continues to sink deeper into the economic mire. In early October, the despairing Japanese finally cut their capital-gains tax.

The alternative, supply-side worldview holds that prosperity is achieved by driving down the cost of capital through sound money, low tax rates, a non-intrusive government sector, and free trade. Today's supply-siders generally believe that the economy is being dragged down not by insufficient consumer demand but by a virtual disappearance of investment capital over the past year or so.

And to fix this, capital-gains tax cuts are crucial. They would raise asset values instantaneously, by reducing the tax penalty on all new and existing capital investment. They would reverse stock losses and stimulate new investment—

Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is what the economy needs most. Former Reagan economist Gary Robbins, now of the Institute for Policy Innovation, has found in a new study that dollar for dollar, there is no tax cut that is more stimulative to the economy than a capital-gains cut: You get $10 of economic stimulus for every $1 revenue loss. (By contrast, the Democrats' payroll-tax rebate is worth less than 50 cents for every dollar of cost.)

Here again, the president is receiving bad advice. The Bush team has apparently been frightened by the argument that a capital-gains cut would lead to a quick sell-off of stocks, as investors rush to cash in on past gains; this would further depress the stock market. Historically, however, the stock market has risen, not fallen, after a capital-gains cut. After the most recent capital-gains cut in 1997, the Dow went from 7,000 to a peak of 11,000. Here's why: A share of stock is valued at the expected future earnings of the company—after all taxes are accounted for. When the capital-gains tax is lowered, the after-tax value of the earnings of every company in America rises. The only possible way that the stock would fall in value is if investors were willing to sell stock that is now worth more, for a lower price.

There's also a way to guarantee that a capital-gains cut won't depress the market: Cut the rate from 20 percent to 10 percent on all gains earned *after* September 11, 2001, but not on gains earned before then. This would mean that no investors would have an extra incentive to sell stocks, because they would still have to pay the old rate, but new investors would have a strong incentive to buy stocks because the tax in later years would be cut in half. The value of stocks under this plan would have to rise. (House Whip Tom DeLay has already proposed this sensible compromise.)

This debate, alas, is not primarily about economics, but about diplomacy with the Democrats. The Bush policy team's preference on almost all domestic issues now is to advance issues that are perceived as less partisan. This makes some sense: Bush has risen above politics and party in recent weeks, to the level of a statesman trusted by almost all Americans. The problem is that when this principle is extended to economics it means that we get a steady onrush of bad policies: lavish giveaway packages to the airline industry, extended unemployment benefits, the federalization of 15,000 airline workers, another $5 billion in Department of Education spending, the most expensive farm bill in American history, and so on.

Worst of all, bipartisanship has given Tom Daschle and Dick Gephardt a de facto veto over economic-policy decision making. There are two problems with that: First, Gephardt and Daschle are clueless as to how to stimulate the economy. Second, even if they weren't economically illiterate, they might not support an economic-revival plan that would ensure that Republicans retain the House and recapture the Senate in 2002. As Rep. Pat Toomey, the Pennsylvania Republican, notes: "Our GOP leaders need to understand that a slumping economy is not necessarily contrary to Dick Gephardt's political interest."

So in the name of bipartisan cooperation, George W. Bush may commit a grave political and economic sin: signing a bipartisan stimulus package that doesn't stimulate. And if that happens, even a great military victory may not be enough to maintain these stratospheric approval ratings for long. Just ask the president's dad. **NR**

There is a small **Catholic college** in the mountains of Southern California

unlike anything in your experience.

Here, students don't read textbooks or attend lectures. Rather, in small group seminars students and teachers discuss, debate, test, and come to understand the original writings of some of the greatest minds of Western Civilization.

Many of the permanent faculty are dead, but you know them by name: Einstein, Dante, Newman, Augustine, Homer, to name a few. But the truth they pursued never dies. It is unchanging. And studying the writings of these great seekers of truth is a sure path to understanding. Along the way, the fog of skepticism recedes and revealed is the solid ground of the Catholic intellectual tradition and the harmony of faith and reason. It is an exhilarating experience, one that liberates the mind and strengthens the spirit.

To learn more about this unique approach to a truly liberal education,

Contact Tom Susanka, Director of Admissions

(800) 643-9797 • www.thomasaquinas.edu

Thomas Aquinas College

10,000 N. Ojai Road • Santa Paula, Ca 93060

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gotta Grow

Taxation in a time of war

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

TAX cutting is a contact sport in Washington, but the Bush economic team appears not to understand this. They have been mau-maued by Democratic class warriors into accepting demand-side tax cuts, and ignoring one of the wise insights that won Milton Friedman a Nobel Prize—that people will *not* permanently alter their spending behavior in response to temporary government cash injections. The Bush team should have learned its lesson when the $600 consumer-rebate plan failed to stimulate growth this summer. While after-tax disposable income did rise—temporarily—the cash was quite predictably used to pay down credit-card and household debt instead of to make new investments.

Unchastened, the White House is now angling for a congressional deal for yet another temporary consumer tax rebate—this one aimed primarily at low-income earners, most of whom pay only Social Security and other payroll taxes. What the Bush team is forgetting is that profitless companies are rapidly laying off employees, and that worker incomes lost through increased joblessness will overwhelm any tax-rebate benefits. More generally, the administration fails to see that this is not a consumer-led recession, but one led on the supply side by investors and businesses. For a supply-side problem, supply-side incentives—not demand-side tax rebates—are the cure.

The facts are well known and undeniable: Over the past year, consumer income has actually increased by 3 percent, but business income (net of taxes and inflation) has plunged 15 percent. With profits hemorrhaging, investment has collapsed. During the year's first half, overall domestic business investment dropped an annualized 12 percent, with technology investment falling by an unbelievable 48 percent annual rate. By contrast, inflation-adjusted consumer spending increased during this period at a modest but still respectable 2.7 percent annual rate.

One of the problems is Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill. If O'Neill had spent this year telling the business-recession story in speeches around the country, he would have had a much better chance of moving the policy agenda toward seriously reducing the corporate tax burden. O'Neill, however, was too busy marketing Fed chairman Alan Greenspan's argument that consumer tax rebates and lower interest rates would lead to a second-half recovery. When that forecast proved wrong (even before the September 11 attacks), O'Neill proposed to Bush a near halving of the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 20 percent, but Greenspan blew that idea out of the water in various meetings on Capitol Hill.

For a supply-side problem, supply-side incentives—not demand-side tax rebates—are the cure.

One concrete measure O'Neill should be pushing right now is depreciation reform for tech-equipment purchases. Massive technology spending in the 1999 runup to Y2K was borrowed from 2000 and 2001; it was this, along with an unprecedented Federal Reserve deflation, that wrecked the economy and the stock market. By next year, however, obsolete tech equipment will need to be replaced, and accelerated write-offs will make it cheaper for businesses to purchase new equipment. This, in turn, will allow business-equipment manufacturers to reduce their selling prices.

More broadly, the White House needs to talk more often about investor confidence. The 100 million-plus investor class has taken a $5 trillion hit during this bear market, now the second worst in post–World War II history. Exit polls last November showed that more than 60 percent of voters owned shares, yet the Bush administration has never truly reached out to this group. That they do so is more necessary now than ever before. The nearly unprecedented uncertainties accompanying this war and recession have generated exceptionally high risk premiums; this is why risk-averse investors have put their cash in money-market funds and bank savings accounts. In order to get this money moving back into the economy to finance a new round of entrepreneurship, we have to overcome the unusually high degree of risk—and to do that, we will need to hold out the prospect of greater after-tax rewards on capital.

For this reason, we need to cut the capital-gains tax rate substantially; I would suggest we cut it to 10 percent. But if Democrats stonewall cap-gains relief, then why not increase the capital-loss deduction to $10,000 or $15,000 (from the current $3,000)? And why not eliminate the complicated holding-period provisions of current law that have removed much-needed liquidity from the market? Let's get rid of the five-year holding period that, under current law, qualifies an investment for an 18 percent cap-gains rate; and let's also scrap the one-year-holding-period requirement that forces investors to pay a 40 percent cap-gains tax on stocks they sell after less than a year.

White House economist Larry Lindsey wrote one of the best books (*The Growth Experiment*) about the success of Ronald Reagan's tax-rate-reduction plan, but Lindsey seldom talks anymore about the incentive virtues of reducing high marginal tax rates. Lindsey used to make the case for dynamic scoring of supply-side tax incentives; nowadays he never mentions the fact that lower tax rates are directly related to higher economic growth and tax revenues. Lindsey should be out there doing battle for these and other supply-side ideas—particularly, for making the income-tax reduction (including the cut in the top

Mr. Kudlow is a contributing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and economics editor of National Review Online.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marginal rate from 40 percent to 35 percent) effective immediately, rather than in 2006.

Sadly, instead of jostling for its product in the marketplace of ideas, the Bush economic team has conceded the media high ground to the class warriors. Surely most of the 112 million workers employed in the private-sector economy know full well that businesses create jobs; and just as surely does the 100 million-plus investor class understand that businesses require capital in order to turn new ideas into commercial products. That's how a slow economy is transformed into a rapid one. The Bush administration needs to make the case that instead of fighting each other, investors, businesses, and workers need to realize that they are all in this together, that each needs the others' resources to increase the economic pie. As a matter of economics, this is always true. But today—when maximizing growth is a weapon in winning the war against terrorism—it's a more important point than ever, and the administration ought to stress it, repeatedly and vigorously. **NR**

You Call This 'Stimulating'?

The Democrats' ignorant plan

ALAN REYNOLDS

SENATE majority leader Tom Daschle recently indicated to the *Washington Post* that he would "oppose any stimulus plan that contained permanent tax cuts." According to the *Post*, he also "made it clear that he thought that several of Bush's proposals, such as speeding up parts of the tax cut passed last year or repealing the corporate minimum tax, were non-starters." Daschle started laying the groundwork for such obstructionism right after September 25, when the Senate Finance Committee met with former Treasury secretary Robert Rubin and Fed chairman Alan Greenspan. Shortly after that meeting, Daschle announced that economists had said "these tax provisions ought to be temporary," because permanent tax cuts would raise long-term interest rates and "cause the housing market to crash." Rubin and Greenspan, too, have been warning that any stimulus must be only temporary; otherwise, it would risk creating a budget deficit and thus jacking up mortgage interest rates.

But the notion that long-term interest rates rise because of budget deficits is one of the most persistent of Keynesian myths. The theory says that mortgage rates must fall when deficits fall, and rise when deficits rise—but the facts don't bear this out. The budget deficit shrank to a modest 1.6 percent of GDP in 1980, down from 4.3 percent in 1976—but mortgage rates were 13.8 percent in 1980, up from 8.9 percent in

Mr. Reynolds is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

CHRISTENDOM COLLEGE

A Roman Catholic College

The Right Choice . . .

Christendom College has been endorsed by **Choosing the Right College** and the following:

Pope John Paul II
Jan Cardinal Schotte
Anthony Cardinal Bevilacqua
J. Francis Cardinal Stafford
Archbishop Renato Martino
Archbishop Charles Chaput
Bishop Fabian Bruskewitz
Rev. George Rutler
Rev. C.J. McCloskey, III
Rev. Benedict Groeschel
Mother Angelica
Dr. Russell Hittinger
Dr. Scott Hahn
Dr. William Donohue
Dr. Ralph McInerny
Dr. Charles Rice
Dr. James Hitchcock
Amb. Vernon Walters
Amb. Frank Shakespeare
Amb. Alan Keyes
Pat Buchanan
Bowie Kuhn
Mary Ellen Bork
Cong. Henry Hyde
Cong. Chris Smith
Adm. Jeremiah Denton
Crisis Magazine
Lay Witness
National Catholic Register
New Oxford Review
Barron's Best Buys
Peterson's Competitive Colleges
US News & World Report

. . . For All The Right Reasons.

For more information, contact:
Paul Heisler • Christendom College • 134 Christendom Drive • Front Royal, VA 22630
800-877-5456 • admissions@christendom.edu • www.christendom.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1976. The real reason for 13.8 percent mortgage rates was careless *monetary* policy and accelerating inflation. The Fed subsequently put the screws to inflation in 1981–82, which increased both interest rates and the deficit. But—even though deficits remained large—mortgage rates were cut in half thereafter, as inflation declined. The deficit was 4.7 percent of GDP in 1993, and mortgage rates were 7.3 percent; last year, by contrast, the budget was in record surplus, but mortgage rates topped 8 percent. And very recently, the predicted surplus was rapidly eroded by recession, war, and talk of a pricey "stimulus package"; yet the rate on 30-year mortgages has dropped below 6.5 percent.

The supposed link between deficits and interest rates is impossible to find in U.S. history, and it's equally invisible in other countries. The budget deficit in Japan is 6.3 percent of GDP, yet corporate bond yields—which depend on high interest—are below 1.5 percent. Canada's *surplus* is 2.6 percent of GDP, yet Canadian corporate bonds fetch 7.2 percent. These numbers are clear refutations of the Rubin-Greenspan theory of deficits and long-term interest rates. There is, in fact, no connection between them.

Confronted with good facts, though, scoundrels seek refuge in bad theory. The prevailing theoretical confusion is to imagine that bonds and mortgages are like antiques, in the sense that investors would supposedly be willing to pay more for bonds simply because they have become scarcer. But this is nonsense, because investors care only about expected returns, after subtracting taxes and inflation. The expected real return has much to do with expected inflation and tax rates, but nothing to do with whether the Treasury is buying or selling a few more bonds. Besides, variations in the annual flow of Treasury bonds are tiny in comparison with the outstanding stock of bonds in general, including the bonds of corporations and foreign governments. It makes no more sense to say that a larger volume of Treasury bond sales raises bond yields than it would to say that the currently huge volume of new mortgages (mostly for refinancing) raises mortgage rates.

Real interest rates are largely explained by the real return on capital, which declines with recession. Nominal bond yields rise and fall largely in response to inflation. There is no connection between government borrowing and the profitability of private investments, or between deficits and inflation. The government's budget is irrelevant to bond yields and mortgage rates, in theory and in fact.

■

Additional spending cannot stimulate the private sector, because federal spending is not free.

■

Rubin and Greenspan, however, would have us judge the success of a stimulus plan by the amount of money lost to the Treasury. Since the goal is for the Treasury to misplace $100 billion or so, it follows that any tax cut that might actually help the economy grow faster would be a bad idea. Why? Because faster growth would make it impossible for the Treasury to lose the required $100 billion! And a capital-gains tax cut could be even worse, because it might cause revenues to *rise*. This is why Democratic legislators prefer a combination of *temporary* tax cuts and *permanent* spending increases: There's no danger that revenues would rise.

Of course, that kind of package would be economically useless. Additional spending cannot stimulate the private sector, because federal spending is not free. Every dollar the government spends has to be financed by taxpayers, now or later. To spend the surplus means to overtax some people in order to send checks to others. To use deficits to finance more spending means taxpayers will soon be paying more interest to those holding Treasury IOUs.

But from the Democratic party's point of view, nothing could be better than for President Bush to attach his name to another "stimulus plan" that—just like the recent rebate fiasco—simply doesn't work. Another round of "rebates" would just take money out of the pockets of those who earned it and put it into the pockets of those who didn't—thus discouraging productive activity on both sides.

So much for the permanent spending. As for the temporary cuts in corporate taxes, they also would be close to useless, because the most troubled companies have no profits to tax. Furthermore, temporary tax breaks for business investment are dangerous. They might cause firms to buy equipment sooner rather than later, but such investment would dry up the moment the tax break ended. Rational companies would delay buying equipment until the next recession, expecting another tax break at that time. The net effect would make investment cycles more erratic and painful.

The administration's best tax proposals would actually have no revenue effect. Moving forward the reductions in personal income-tax rates, for example, would just change the date on a reform that was going to happen anyway; it never made sense to take six years to cut tax rates by 3–4 percentage points, and sooner is now obviously much better than later. Accelerated depreciation of business investment, another Bush policy, has no significant effect on long-term revenues because companies that write off more in the early years must write off less in later years. Similarly, ending the corporate alternative tax has no permanent revenue effect. But these tax plans would all have an important short-term benefit: They would greatly improve prospects for corporate profits, and thus increase stock prices, wealth, and confidence.

The leadership of the Democratic party, however, persists in trying to define "economic stimulus" as massive spending on bailouts and "infrastructure," while refusing to consider any constructive tax reforms—even the speeding up of the tax cuts they already agreed to. But their alternative is economic poison: Any package of temporary tax cuts and permanent spending increases would stimulate nothing but the lobbying industry, and should be vetoed. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eb Y®

Armageddon on Sale!
Everything Must Go!

home
my ebay
site map
sign in

THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

Search for: CIPRO

2890 items found for CIPRO Showing items 1–5

Cipro Antibiotics!
10 tabs in original prescription bottle! Just enough to get one person through it. Two if you're feeling generous.

$450.00 12 bids Ends Oct-20 20:25

Cipro
100 tabs in buff envelope, expiration date passed. Can't hurt.

$200 5 bids Ends Oct-23 9:35

Cipro
110 tabs in original Mexican package. Probably definitely Cipro. Some brown stains on box. Box open. Still, won't you sleep better?

$475 267 bids Ends Oct-24 10:43

Ciprofloxacin Generic!
Why pay more? 350 tabs in original package. Be the hero of your small neighborhood!

$7200 129 bids Ends Oct-25 19:00

Cipro™ T-shirts
White cotton. Pharmaceutical company giveaway. Has no provable medical benefit whatsoever.

$100 23 bids Ends Oct-26 11:12

Search for: GAS MASKS

19,987 items found for GAS MASKS Showing items 1-5

2 Adult, 2 Child gas masks
Used once. Still work. NATO approved.

$700 83 bids Ends Oct-30 20:23

1000 Adult Israeli gas masks
Never used. Sold in lots of 2. These guys know from protection.

$2000 16,980 bids Ends Oct-30 18:50

Russian Gas Masks!
Lot of 10. Unused. Finest Soviet-era technology. Comes with loaf of very hard bread.

$12 97 bids Ends Oct-30 17:43

8 Pristine US Military gas masks
Sold as a set. With original 1950's-era manual. Comes with 100 tins of Dinty Moore Beef Stew.

$100 39 bids Ends Oct-31 23:20

20,000 gas mask filters!
Gas masks useless without 'em! Let your friends spend $$$ to get the very best gas masks! Then when it hits the fan, amaze and delight them as you corner the market on the filters!

$29,459 9087 bids Ends Oct-31 23:59

Search for: HAZMAT

4 items found for HAZMAT. Showing items 1-3

12 Hazmat Biosuits
fully chemically resistant, elastic cuffs and booties, flattering orange color

$450 110 bids Ends Oct-27 10:34

1 Hazmat Area sign and tape
Tickle your friends' funnybone – declare their home a "hazmat" area! Looks real because it is real!

$89 39 bids Ends Oct-28 9:34

2 His 'n' Hers Rubber Suits
Originally designed as erotic bodywear for rubber fetishists. Also perfect for chemical warfare!

$1500 2876 bids Ends Oct-30 21:37

Search for: ISLAM FOR DUMMIES

26 items found for ISLAM FOR DUMMIES. Showing items 1-3

Islam for Dummies
Slightly used, highlighter pen on some pages dealing with "the infidel."

$25 19 bids Ends Oct-22 11:24

Islam for Dummies
Brand new, with intact dust jacket. Used for university course work. Never opened.

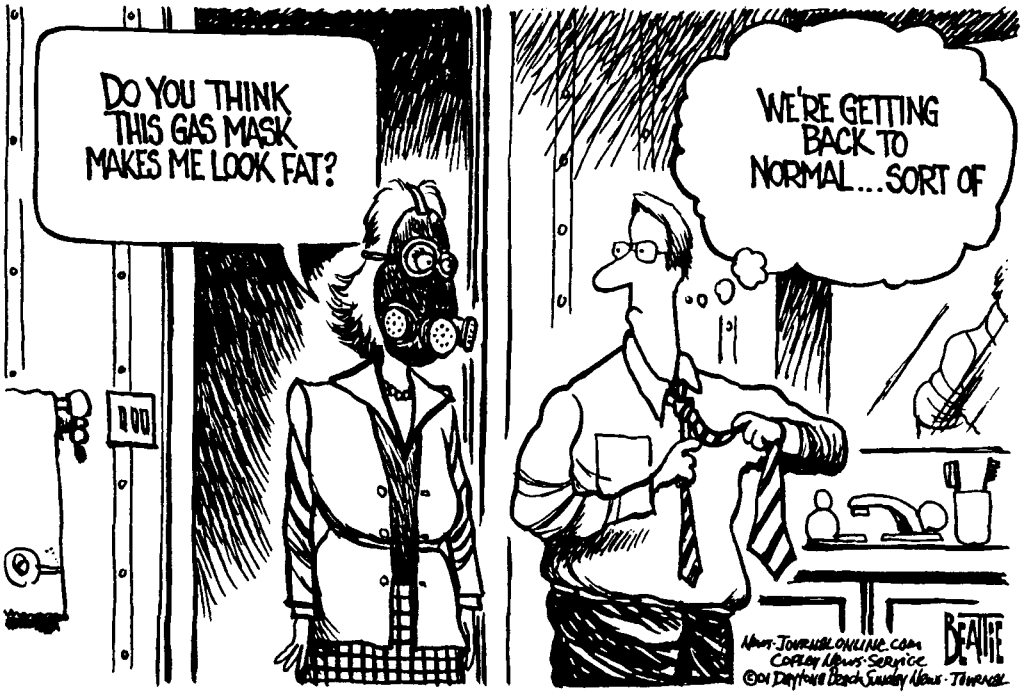
$19 92 bids Ends Oct-23 10:10

Islam for Dummies (10 copies)
Hardback version. Unopened and uncreased. All stamped "Property of FBI"

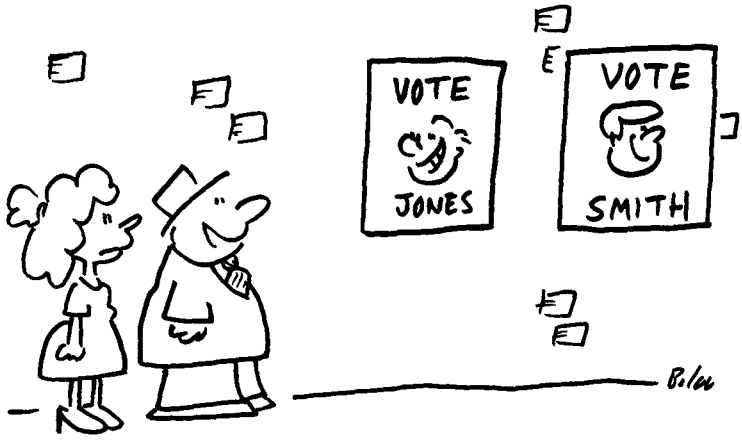
$100 29 bids Ends Oct-30 23:45

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

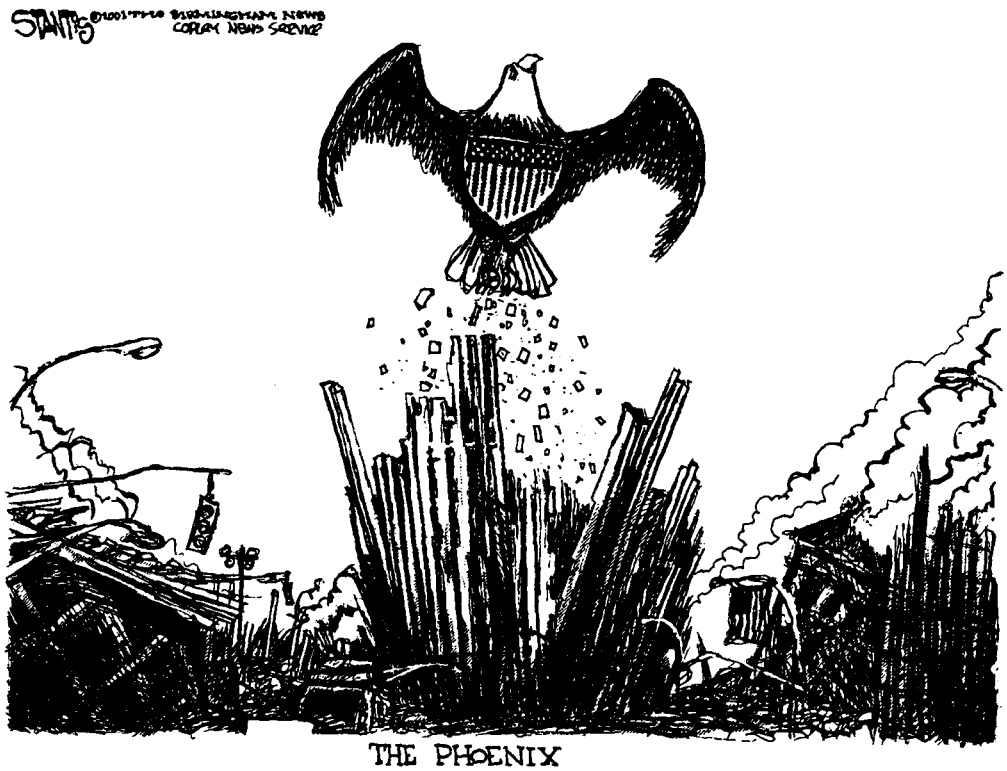


"Election time always gets me in shape for the holidays—choosing between turkeys and fruitcakes."

Street Instructions

How to handle peaceniks: When
Signs say counting up to ten
Beats recourse to fisticuffs,
Razz 'em like untutored toughs;
If this fails to get a rise,
Add rude gestures—a reprise
That should be accompanied
By crop dusters till they're tree'd.

—W. H. von Dreele



THE PHOENIX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crisis of the Old Order

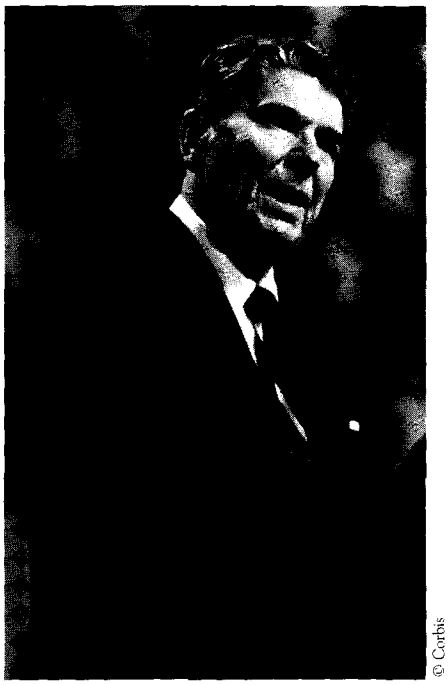
MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order, 1964–1980, by Steven F. Hayward (Prima, 811 pp., $35)

THE theme of this splendid work of history, the first of two volumes, is the corruption and at length the catastrophe of modern liberalism. It is also the story of the wilderness years of the man who eventually sacked the liberals' citadels, and composed their epitaph. *The Age of Reagan* opens in 1964, when Ronald Reagan was a faded actor who had recently been dumped by General Electric as its corporate spokesman. Hayward's book is less a chronicle of Reagan's rise over the next 16 years than a study of the conditions that made it possible.

Reagan's rhetoric and his charm were of course essential to his extraordinary ascent; but Hayward shows that they were less important than his insight into the wrong turn modern liberalism had taken. Classical liberalism—the liberalism of Alexis de Tocqueville and Abraham Lincoln—was rooted in the promise of the individual citizen. It was rooted in his capacity for self-government, and his ability to realize his destiny by threading his own way through the emporia of a free society. During the course of the 20th century, however, classical liberalism gave way to a form of mandarin liberalism, to the belief that problems had grown too complicated to be mastered by private individuals; only experts in the service of the state were competent to solve them.

Mr. Beran is the author of *The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy*.



© Corbis

He swept away the ruins.

"For many years now," Reagan declared when he became California's governor in 1967, "you and I have been shushed like children and told that there are no simple answers to complex problems which are beyond our comprehension." The growing faith in the powers of what Reagan called an "intellectual elite more gifted than the rest of us" not only undermined an older form of American liberalism; just as insidious was the moral languor concealed beneath the elaborate theoretical solutions of the new liberalism. "The fetish of complexity," Reagan said, "the trick of making hard decisions harder to make—the art, finally, of rationalizing the non-decision, have made a ruin of foreign policy," and of domestic policy as well. To perplex a problem with endless studies, to stir up a cloud of statistical dust and dubious data, to confound the judgment of the ordinary citizen with unintelligible jargon and opaque acronyms—all of this tended to obscure the moral heart of the matter. "It's the complicated answer that's easy," Reagan used to say, "because it avoids facing the hard moral issues." Rejecting the baroque compromises of liberal mandarinism, Reagan argued that "there *are* simple answers—but there are no easy ones."

Hayward contrasts Reagan's challenge to the morbid intricacies of modern liberalism with the passivity of Lyndon Johnson. LBJ possessed, with all his imperfections and delinquencies, many sound instincts; but Hayward shows that those instincts rarely survived contact with the experts—the "kooks and sociologists," as LBJ called some of them—who surrounded him. Consider, for example, the Great Society's welfare programs, which Johnson hoped to prevent from degenerating into a system of handouts. "No doles," he emphatically declared. Nor would he subsidize the breakdown of the family: "They [the poor] want to just stay up there and breed and won't work and we have to feed them," Johnson groused to his deputy budget director, Elmer Staats. "I told you we don't want to take care of all these illegitimate kids and we want to make 'em get out there and go to work." But Johnson was unable to translate instinct into policy: In waging their war on poverty, the technicians of the Great Society drew not on the homely wisdom of their chief but on convoluted social theories that insisted that human behavior could be modified or "engineered" by mandarins. Daniel Patrick Moynihan called it "the scholarship of Che Guevara," and complained of the effect of the "direct transmission" of untested "social science theory into governmental policy."

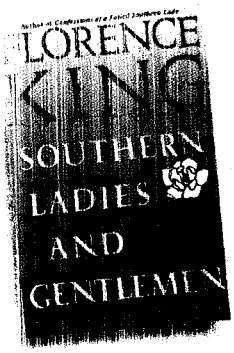
"The government," Moynihan said, "did not know what it was doing." The results bore him out: In the war on poverty, as Reagan later said, poverty won. The war in Vietnam was waged in much the same fashion. Johnson persuaded himself that the U.S. could prevail without incurring the expense of a

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days)
please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700)
or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

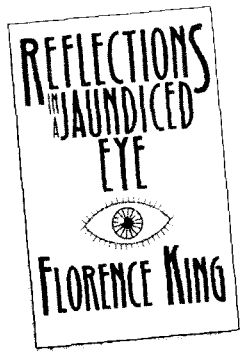
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She's America's Misanthrope. She's the Queen of Spleen. She's Florence King.

Get this Curmudgeon's Classics Direct from *National Review*

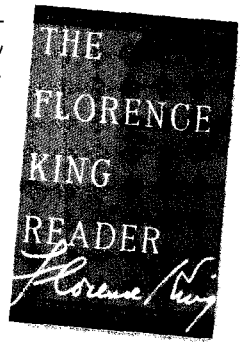


Southern Ladies and Gentlemen The guide to the ways and means of Southern culture. King wields her terrible swift stiletto to slice through the kudzu of Dixie manners and archetypes, including the Southern Woman, the Self-Rejuvenating Virgin, and the Good Ole Boy. "This is the best book ever written about the South. . . . And on top of that it's delectably funny."—*Chattanooga Times* **$12.95/quality paperback.**



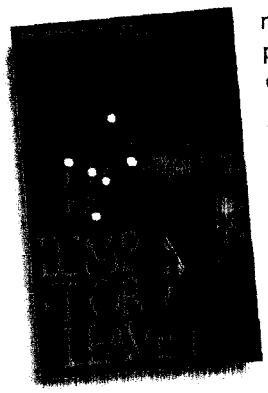
Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye King administers industrial-strength smelling salts to rouse any spirit that's been overcome by the smog of "caring 'n' compassion." This collection of brilliant essays dishes out curmudgeon justice by exalting the likes of Good King Herod and Spinsterhood while abasing the culturally malignant (including "Democrazy" and the "Cult of Helpism"). "To say that Florence King doesn't suffer fools gladly is an understatement akin to suggesting that Fred Astaire could maneuver quite nicely on the dance floor."—*People* **$8.95/quality paperback.**

The Florence King Reader This wallop-packing, 200-proof best-of will leave literary livers cirrhotic as punch-drunk readers beg for another round. From her biting essays and *NR* columns to her icon-smashing reviews and book selections (including a chapter from her long-lost historical novel, *The Barbarian Princess*), this King-size collection is a must for aficionados and neophytes. "One of the few contemporary American essayists of sufficient pungency and wit to be almost always worth reading."—*Washington Post* **$13.95/quality paperback.**

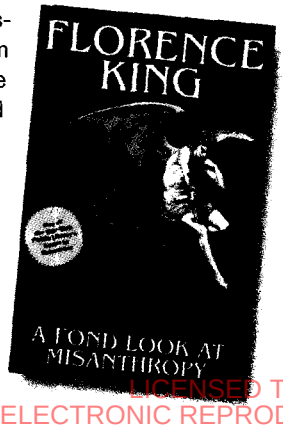


Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady The unrivaled account of growing up in an eccentric Southern family (read it and you'll know why Little Florence would have been beloved by even W. C. Fields). Hailed as one of the best memoirs ever written, and rightly so; this true tale of Granny's gone-awry attempt to raise Florence as a Perfect Southern Lady overflows with wit, gusto, bawdiness, and flat-out unsurpassed writing. This peek into the rearing of America's reigning misanthrope is a must for any King fan, and anyone who enjoys an uproarious read. "A stunning book, a masterpiece."—*Los Angeles Times* **$12.95/quality paperback.**

Lump It or Leave It King gives no quarter in these acid-laced reflections on American tomfoolery. From the joys of menopause to the hazards of fame, from college professors ("incapable of earning a living with either their minds or their hands") and the U.S. government ("the crude leading the crud") to that favorite of subjects, the South ("if at first you don't secede, try, try, again"), there are few blockheads or brainless trends left standing after Miss Anthrope has her way with them. "The scent of sulphur and brimstone wafts off the page. . . . venom on a par with Dorothy Parker's literary bite."—*Chicago Sun-Times* **$10.95/quality paperback.**



With Charity Toward None: A Fond Look at Misanthropy America's unreconstructed people-hater gleefully separates the weak from the chafing in this masterpiece on *la vie misanthrope* ranging from Timon of Athens to Ty Cobb. Zip open the body bags of King's victims and you'll find faux misanthropes (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Andy Rooney), closet misanthropes (Richard Nixon), and a slew of humanitarian rabble. "The only trouble with this book is that its covers are too close together."—*New York Times* **$10.95/quality paperback.**



National Review/King Books, 215 Lexington Avenue, NY, NY 10016

YES, I need a strong dose of misanthropy, so please send me the Florence King books that I've checked. I enclose total payment of $ _____ (add shipping/handling of $3.00 for first book, $1.00 for each additional book). Ship to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

- ☐ *Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady* ($12.95)
- ☐ *Southern Ladies and Gentlemen* ($12.95)
- ☐ *Lump It or Leave It* ($10.95)
- ☐ *The Florence King Reader* ($13.95)
- ☐ *Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye* ($8.95)
- ☐ *With Charity Toward None* ($10.95)

☐ Check enclosed (Make payable to *National Review.*)
☐ Please charge my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA

Acct. # _____

Exp. date _____ Signature _____

Foreign orders add $4.00 per copy. NY resident[illegible]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conventional war, the kind of war that would jeopardize his ability to build the Great Society. A coterie of mandarins in the Pentagon, led by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, assisted Johnson in the perpetuation of this fantasy; they assured the president that he could dispense with orthodox tactics in the struggle to preserve the freedom of South Vietnam.

By applying the novel techniques of "graduated pressure," "strategic persuasion," and "flexible response," America could break Hanoi's will with a minimum of pain. "This is a different kind of war," a McNamara protégé lectured the Joint Chiefs; in the Pentagon and the White House, discussions of military security began to sound, according to one observer, "more and more like seminars in game theory." McNamara himself disdained to refer to the North Vietnamese as "the enemy." The word no doubt seemed old-fashioned.

Hayward reveals how blithely unconscious of their self-inflicted wounds were many of even the most thoughtful evangelists of liberalism. Moynihan, almost alone among the liberals, foresaw their doom. If Reagan is Hayward's hero, Moynihan is his tragic Cassandra, the unhonored prophet in the modern liberal house. But even seers possessed of a genuine gift may do much damage. Moynihan helped somewhat to puncture the delusions of liberal optimism; but this book demonstrates that he also succeeded in strengthening the forces of conservative pessimism. One wonders what wiliness—what subtle shrewdness, or sheer delight in historical mischief—led Moynihan, as an adviser in the Nixon White House, to put into the hands of the president Lord Blake's life of Benjamin Disraeli. The clever Moynihan must have known that the clever Disraeli would prove irresistible to the clever Nixon. The results of so much accumulated cleverness could only be unfortunate. Nixon, egged on by Moynihan, thought he saw a way to do what Disraeli had done before: He would disarm the liberals by taking up their own ideas and using them against them. Nixon promptly opened the government's sluice-gates and released a flood of federal cash and regulation. Spending on social programs—which had accounted for 28 percent of the budget at the end of Johnson's term—consumed some 40 percent when Nixon left office. Nixon even proposed a guaranteed minimum income, known as the Family Assistance Plan, which would eventually have bankrupted the Treasury; the plan, vigorously opposed by Reagan, was thwarted in the Senate.

It was not Great Society optimism but rather conservative pessimism that drove Nixon's expansion of the government. In off-the-cuff remarks in Kansas City in July 1971, Nixon—musing on the broken columns of Athens and Rome—speculated about the decline of America. The "great civilizations of the past," he said, "as they have become wealthy, as they have lost their will to live, to improve," have "become subject to the decadence which eventually destroys a civilization. The United States is now reaching that period." The lesson was clear: A prudent conservatism must accept the inexorable processes of decay, must even, on occasion, compromise with the agents of moral rot. To take a stand against corrupting trends in the modern world would only accelerate the processes of degeneration and hasten the decline of the West.

■

Hayward's book is grand and fascinating history.

■

Nowhere was the spirit of conservative mortification more evident than in Nixon's foreign policy, with its resigned attitude toward the permanence of Communist regimes, and its apparent helplessness in the face of their expansion. Moynihan accurately fingered the moral fatigue at work in the policy of détente, the product of "men who know too much to believe anything in particular and opt instead for accommodations of reasonableness and urbanity that drain our world position of moral purpose." But say this much for Nixon: If he and those around him wrongly believed that America's decline was irreversible, they were at least alive to the tragedy of the nation's fall, during the 1970s, from the heights of power and prosperity. Many liberals, by contrast, seemed pleased. When the U.S. finally abandoned Cambodia and South Vietnam to their horrific fates, Anthony Lewis wrote of the region's brightened prospects. "What future possibility could be more terrible," he said, than "the reality of what is happening to Cambodia now [under the American alliance]?" Only our "cultural arrogance" made us think that "our way of life must prevail." Doubtless the Khmer Rouge would improve conditions in what came to be called "Democratic Kampuchea."

Hayward's book is grand and fascinating history; but is it merely partisan history? It is partisan in the sense that Macaulay's *History of England* is partisan. Macaulay sided with the Whigs, just as Hayward sides with the Reagan wing of the Republican party. But *The Age of Reagan*, like Macaulay's history of the fall of the Stuarts, is not tendentious; it does not sacrifice intelligence to rhetoric; and Hayward's portrayal of the fall of the old liberal order is not without a certain grandeur. There are no cheap or facile gibes; Hayward is sobered by the perturbations of the liberals in their last extremity, as they suffered through the agony of a collapsing supremacy.

The Age of Reagan goes far towards making the definitive historical case for Reagan's greatness, but it would be a mistake for conservatives to read the book in a spirit of complacency. For in following Hayward in his tour of the ruined shrines of modern liberalism, the thoughtful conservative will be led to see that his own party occupies today precisely the same ground the liberal grandees occupied a couple of decades ago. The Democrats have now become the copycat party the Republicans once were, chanting (if often disingenuously) the mantras of welfare reform, smaller government, and even (at times) lower taxes. How does a movement preserve its vigor, its tenacity of mind and moral purpose, in the midst of high (and often enervating) success? For illumination we can only await the next installment of Hayward's first-rate history. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Vatican Has Her Back to the Wall

So said a leading French cardinal in a public attack on a high-ranking cardinal in the Roman Curia. Because of that, said the French cardinal, certain decisions "cannot suffer further delay" and must be made "promptly." What decisions? The French cardinal cited certain "disciplinary and doctrinal knots" — e.g., sexuality, marriage, and the role of women in the Church.

Now, it's our understanding that decisions about those matters were authoritatively made long ago by the Church, and that there are no "knots" here — certainly no *doctrinal* knots — that need untying.

The French cardinal continued: "The times we live in are marked by a profound evolution of the moral...conscience. Couldn't this evolution bring us [in the Church] something new...something that would present itself in a 'rationality' other than that of antiquity and of the Middle Ages?... Should we not further expose some of our concepts and practices to the challenge of the rationality and the sensitivities of today...?"

For those of us familiar with the code language of cardinals, it's clear that the French cardinal was saying that the Church is stuck in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and needs to appease the Spirit of the Times by overhauling her teachings.

The mindset of that French cardinal is typical of the large "progressive" (or accommodationist) bloc in the Church. And he made bold to say, "Those in charge [in the Vatican] have their backs to the wall."

And maybe he's right. *But so what?* St. Athanasius had his back to the wall. So did St. Thomas More. And so did Winston Churchill at the beginning of World War II. None of them capitulated.

Yes, Rome *does* have her back to the wall, but in no small measure because many prelates have refused to defend papal teaching, have chosen to play the role of Neville Chamberlain or Marshal Pétain in today's Church.

Today we need prelates, priests, and laymen with Churchillian spirit. A mere 18 days before the fall of France, Churchill said that even if all the Continent should fall to the Axis powers, "We shall not flag or fail.... We shall fight in the seas and oceans...we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender...."

The struggle ahead will be difficult. We know that many loyal Catholics feel beset on all sides — outmanned, outgunned, isolated. That too was Britain's plight. She stood alone. But she did not flinch — and she prevailed.

St. Paul urges us to "fight the good fight" (1Tim. 6:12). And so, to paraphrase Churchill on the day after the fall of France, let us orthodox Catholics brace ourselves against those who collaborate with the *Zeitgeist* and let us so steel ourselves for victory that even a thousand years from now men will say, *This was their finest hour.*

To get yourself in fighting trim, you must read the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, an orthodox Catholic monthly magazine that forthrightly addresses all the problems in the Church — and takes no prisoners. We're "Catholicism's intellectual prizefighter," says the ace Catholic apologist Karl Keating, and we "belong in every loyal Catholic's arsenal," says the indomitable Fr. Joseph Fessio. Subscribe!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy $3.50

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 122
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Gal

ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE

An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War, by Midge Decter (HarperCollins, 234 pp., $24)

FORTHRIGHT to a fault—or a virtue—Midge Decter enjoys a well-deserved reputation for speaking her mind. In this new book, she lays her formidable polemical skills aside, adopting instead a rather irenic and bemused tone, perhaps on the assumption that polemics ill become a review of one's life, perhaps because she truly views her personal experience as personal rather than political. Decter's title appropriately evokes the mellow temper that informs her pages, although her subtitle, which presents her life as unfolding amidst love and war, hints at the presence of excitement; and even in this spirit of comfortable recollection, she cannot resist plunging the odd stiletto into a former foe or exposing the silliness of this or that feminist mantra. Overall, however, this book exudes the attractively restful sense of a woman who, in taking stock of her life, feels herself to have been more blessed than abused.

Those in quest of scandal, confession, or exposé will be disappointed, for this is emphatically not a confessional book in the accepted sense. Explicitly crafted as a memoir rather than an autobiography, it combines a judiciously edited account of Decter's life with a judiciously selective picture of her times and the most significant people she has known. Some might find it tempting to see Decter as emblematic of an entire generation—the one that cut its teeth on the left-wing politics of the 1930s and 1940s, settled into a more or less comfortable anti-Communist liberalism during the 1950s and early 1960s, and was subsequently jolted by the turbulence of the student and women's movements into a new form of conservatism.

Decter—along with her husband Norman Podhoretz, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Irving Kristol, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and a handful of others—ranks among the founding elite of what has become known as neoconservatism; in the 1980s, what Decter calls the "unbelievably happy" circumstance of her association with the conservative Washington think tank, the Heritage Foundation, would persuade her to drop the "neo." *An Old Wife's Tale* does not pretend to offer a chronicle of, or even a justification for, the movement, which Decter primarily treats—often in a charmingly wry tone—as a matter of common sense.

Decter's book displays more homey wisdom and common sense than vituperation.

Thus, recollecting a confrontation that she witnessed in the late 1960s between Barnard girls and New York City cops, she perceptively emphasizes the importance of the class dimension of the clash: "The great revolution of the sixties and seventies, in other words, turned out to be little more than a class war in which the affluent had the better weapons: the indulgence of parents and teachers along with virtually the whole of the press and the clergy."

Similarly, in her passing jabs at the women's movement, she displays more homey wisdom and common sense than vituperation. A staunch opponent of affirmative action, Decter failed to understand "why any woman would fight for years to become a member of a club whose majority were opposed to allowing women to join." How could affirmative action under such conditions result in anything but "massive seizures of self-doubt"—as she believes it has for "some blacks in elite colleges and women learning to be fighter pilots"? Comments and reflections like these, which she drops throughout the book, remind the reader that she is also the author of *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation*—and of countless other directly political interventions that more acerbically dissect what she views as the failures and outright dishonesty of the last three decades of affirmative action and identity politics.

Like some of the other accomplished women of her generation (one thinks of Himmelfarb and Carolyn Graglia), Decter minimizes the difficulties that she, as a woman, encountered during the course of her career. Indeed, she places little emphasis on her feelings in general. The spare account of her private life leaves no doubt that she must have been a young woman of singular determination. The youngest of three daughters of a Jewish shopkeeper in St. Paul, Minn., Decter early developed a secret longing to live in New York; and after dropping out of the University of Minnesota, she moved there. Decter says nothing about having been discouraged in her pursuit of education. (To the contrary, her parents expected her to finish college, leave home, and embrace a career.) She says only that, even though she knew a college degree could prove useful, she hated school. So, armed only with her self-confidence and minimal typing skills, she left for New York to perfect her Hebrew "at the College of Jewish Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and otherwise, as the cliché of the time would have it, [to] 'find myself.'"

Within a year, she was married to her first husband and had met the man who, ten years later, would become her second husband. While her husband (she never gives us his name) completed his education on the GI Bill, she found a job as secretary to the managing editor of *Commentary*; she loved the job but soon left because of her pregnancy with her first child. There ensued a brief period in the suburbs, which permits Decter to expose, in passing, the fallacies of feminist complaints about a woman's lot during the 1950s. A second daughter followed the first, as did a return to New York; then came divorce—which, Decter writes, "begins in that moment in which one looks in the mirror and

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese is a professor of Humanities at Emory University. Her recent books include *Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society* and *"Feminism Is Not the Story of My Life": How Today's Feminist Elite Has Lost Touch with the Real Concerns of Women.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

says 'Is *this* all there is going to be forever?'" Following the divorce, which she evokes as a matter of settling child support and visitation rights and the vow to remain "civilized," she returned to work at *Commentary* in order to support herself and the girls. Then Norman Podhoretz, whom Decter had met and befriended at the time of her first marriage, returned from his army service in Germany and joined *Commentary*. Decter offers a brief sketch of their courtship and marriage, concluding, "and thereby hangs the tale of the rest of my life as a woman."

In work for *Commentary*, *Harper's*, her Committee for the Free World, the Heritage Foundation, and other organizations, as well as in three books and countless articles, Decter has made her mark as a public intellectual of consequence. Above all, she has established herself as a leading critic of feminism and the excesses of all forms of identity politics. From one perspective, *An Old Wife's Tale* may be seen as an extension and culmination of that life's work; from another, it could appear a radical departure from it. The title helps to unravel the paradox: When we call something an "old wives' tale," we simultaneously point to its grounding in a deep traditional wisdom, and suggest that it is a falsehood in which we no longer believe. In reclaiming this phrase to describe her own factual account of her personal life, Decter is affirming the continuity in women's experiences across generations—and thereby exposing feminism's pretensions to have revolutionized the meaning and possibilities of being a woman.

This is not a book that reveals personal or political secrets. No dirty linen is washed, no closets unlocked, no public figures unmasked. Decter protects the privacy of her children, at most speculating about whether she could have been a better mother had she worked less and spent more time at home. Yet no reader, I think, will doubt that that lovingly veiled personal life constitutes the bedrock of her sense of self. In this respect, if *An Old Wife's Tale* has a political message, it may well be an answer to the feminists' celebrated claim that "the personal is political": No, ladies, the personal is personal—and to be cherished as such. **NR**

C-SPAN RADIO

Now Available Nationwide on XM Satellite Radio

for details visit c-spanradio.org

3

The Korean War
Volume 3
By the Korea Institute of Military History
Introduction by Allan R. Millett
The Korean War comprises three volumes. Volume 3 follows the final course of the war from fighting to cease-fire negotiations and the opening of truce talks. The establishment of the demilitarized zone, the end product of the armistice agreement, and the start of the cease-fire structure are described in detail.
$39.95 paper

also available
The Korean War
Volume 1
$29.95 paper

The Korean War
Volume 2
$39.95 paper

The Korean War
Three-Volume Set
$95 paper

University of Nebraska Press
publishers of Bison Books

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fog of Wars

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

War in a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals, by David Halberstam (Scribner, 544 pp., $28)

In 1965, fresh from winning a Pulitzer for his stint in Saigon as a correspondent for the *New York Times*, the young David Halberstam published a book about the war in Vietnam. *The Making of a Quagmire* was an exceptional piece of reporting—vivid, concise, hard-hitting, and entirely without pretense. By contrasting developments in the villages and rice paddies far from Saigon with the illusions nursed by senior American officials back in the South Vietnamese capital, it told important truths about how the U.S. government was even then plunging heedlessly into a conflict that it fundamentally failed to understand.

Halberstam followed up this achievement with an even more spectacular success: In 1972 he published *The Best and the Brightest*, a huge bestseller, still in print nearly 30 years after it first appeared. Basing his work on extensive interviews, Halberstam offered—or purported to offer—the inside story of a vast tragedy in the making, the book's very title capturing one of the war's central ironies. The book itself was compulsively readable, its signature feature being a series of finely honed and devastating portraits of senior U.S. officials: Rusk, McNamara, Bundy, Taylor, Westmoreland, and all the rest whose brilliant careers cracked up on the rocks of a misguided war.

With the 1972 book, Halberstam transformed himself into something more than a mere journalist: He set out to be a somewhat more definitive chronicler of his age. More books followed, many of them blockbusters. The subjects became grander, the books fatter, the titles more portentous. The prose, alas, became progressively more flatulent and self-indulgent.

Halberstam himself ascended to the status of literary celebrity. For years (we learn, courtesy of his publicist) Halberstam had resisted the clamor that he write a sequel to *The Best and the Brightest*; finally, however, he has acceded to those demands—not with a concluding volume on Vietnam, but with this book, an account of America's various military escapades during the 1990s, with memories of that Other War hovering darkly in the background.

Leslie H. Gelb, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, has blurbed *War in a Time of Peace* as "nothing less than the *War and Peace* of our generation." Halberstam may well be the Tolstoy that "our generation" deserves for its sins, but by any standard apart from sheer bulk this book does not merit comparison with the Russian classic: It is warmed-over journalism masquerading as history. The sharp-eyed war correspondent who once derided diplomats and generals for sitting around Saigon while pretending to know the real score would have dismissed this book out of hand.

Halberstam's stated intent in undertaking this project was to see what the military events of the past decade might "tell us about the dramatic societal changes in this country over the last 30 years." The minor wars, interventions, occupations, and episodes of gunboat diplomacy littering the 1990s would serve as a "mirror" revealing what sort of nation the U.S. had become. This is a nice idea, but one only dimly reflected in the final product. In reality, this book provides an account—told almost exclusively from Washington's perspective, based largely on interviews with Washington insiders—of the successive crises in Bosnia and Kosovo, each of which culminated in a U.S.-led armed intervention. Although Halberstam gives nodding attention to other occurrences—the Persian Gulf War, for example, rates one chapter out of the 44—his chief concern is the Balkans.

Like *The Best and the Brightest*, this story is told through Halberstam's trademark psycho-biographical sketches of important figures. For Halberstam, history emerges from the actions (or inaction) of the few—in this case, Lawrence Eagleburger, Colin Powell, Anthony Lake, Madeleine Albright, and Richard Holbrooke, among others. (Bill Clinton appears only occasionally, usually throwing a temper tantrum or berating his subordinates for having gotten him into a pickle; whenever something went haywire in the Clinton White House, it was always someone else's fault.)

The result is not unlike a very, very long episode of *The West Wing*. Rather than commanding attention in their own right, crises serve merely as the backdrop against which Halberstam's protagonists wrestle with old demons, pursue old ambitions, or settle old scores—usually traceable, in the author's telling, to Vietnam. Thus, others might assess the significance of the Dayton peace accords in terms of ending the Bosnian civil war or transforming NATO into something other than a defensive alliance. But according to Halberstam, Dayton counts as the moment when Holbrooke finally gets the upper hand over Lake in a friendship-

Mr. Bacevich is professor of international relations at Boston University. He is the editor, with Eliot A. Cohen, of the forthcoming book *War over Kosovo*.

HELEN

"Tell us a love story,"
Pleaded the class in chorus.
"Our lessons are all done,
Now don't lecture or bore us,"

They prattled, except for one,
Helen, whose gaze looked lost
In the maze of willow branches,
The girl the boys liked most

For the faraway blue of her eyes
And brown hair straight as rain.
"Tell us a love story, please,"
They begged the teacher again.

He frowned and longed for the bell,
Saying "All the love stories I know
End in heartache, or death—"
Then Helen, from the back row

Called at last from her daydream
In the voice of an innocent lover,
"Tell us a love story anyway
And stop before it is over."

—DANIEL MARK EPSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned-bitter-rivalry dating back to their days as roommates in Saigon.

Peering into his looking glass, the author discovers the reflection of people like himself; and this doesn't get him very far in his self-assigned quest to explain how the nation has changed over the past three decades. In the end, grasping to discern some significance in the events he has recounted, he offers little apart from vaporous clichés: that the American people nurse deep-seated isolationist urges, against which enlightened members of the elite must guard; that, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world suddenly became a much more complicated place; and that the world's only superpower is sadly adrift, lacking principles, direction, and a sense of purpose. "The role of America in the post–Cold War world," Halberstam writes in the book's sonorous concluding paragraph, "was still murky in January 2001 . . . because whatever the forces that might threaten the future of this country, they were not yet visible."

From the perspective of October 2001, that may take the prize as the most unsatisfactory observation to appear in many a moon. Unless one chooses to believe that the events of September 11 sprang out of nowhere, it also constitutes a de facto admission of failure—failure to observe, to analyze, and to understand.

All but lost in the bowels of this book is the following observation, an explanation by a senior military officer for what made one particular four-star general, Colin Powell, such a formidable political operator: "He had a feel for what was real in Washington and what existed only on the surface." As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Powell possessed an exquisitely tuned antenna enabling him to distinguish between the "pseudo-policy driven by today's headlines and film clips" and *real* policy, responding to concrete interests and long-term goals. Powell, Halberstam records, understood that real policy "emanated from deep within the administration and the bureaucracy—Washington's own unspoken but important truths."

Nowhere in this overly long book does Halberstam venture to explain what those unspoken truths might be. A better reporter would have unearthed them. **NR**

Thoroughly Modern Millay

JEFFREY HART

What Lips My Lips Have Kissed: The Loves and Love Poems of Edna St. Vincent Millay, by Daniel Mark Epstein (Holt, 299 pp., $26)

READERS of NATIONAL REVIEW are now becoming acquainted with the poetry of Daniel Mark Epstein; his very fine "Helen" appears in this issue (p. 62). Epstein is one of the strongest poets now writing in English. He is also a musician and a scholar; and, as his new book makes clear, an expert biographer.

The book invites us to reconsider Edna St. Vincent Millay both as a person and as a poet. He judges her to be a major poet, mostly a love poet, and I am willing to be persuaded that he is right. This is culturally interesting. The explosion on the scene of the great modernists around 1907–1913 (from Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* to the Armory Show) has tended to occlude our sense of those writers, painters, architects, and so on who were not exactly modernists. But, in painting, we are now re-seeing such American realists as Thomas Eakins, Robert Henri, George Bellows, and Edward Hopper. Cézanne and Braque will never fade, but the world has also been seen with other eyes. There is Yeats and there is Joyce and there is Eliot; Epstein wishes us to realize that there is also Millay.

Besides being a writer, however, she was also a "figure." Her allure was captured gloriously by Edmund Wilson, one of her multitude of sex partners, in his 1952 book *The Shores of Light*. Wilson talked with an old friend about Edna, or Vincent as her close friends called her; and "she told me of seeing her years ago in Greenwich Village running around the corner of Macdougal Street, flushed and laughing 'like a nymph,' with her hair swinging. Floyd Dell, also laughing, pursued her . . . And I leave this image here at the end to supplement my first-hand impressions—a glimpse of Edna as the fleeing and challenging Daphne of her poem 'Figs from Thistles'—from the time when I did not know her, when she had first come down from Vassar to the Village." Wilson had really loved her; we hear it in this prose. When I first read these sentences from Wilson in 1952, I sort of loved her spiritedness myself.

Vincent (she had been named after St. Vincent's Hospital, which supposedly had saved the life of a relative) was a poor girl from Camden, Maine, and not only a rising poet but an immensely theatrical personality. She hit Vassar, in 1913, like a tsunami. She was tiny, with floor-length red hair, and her delivery of lines was in the grand style, à la Sarah Bernhardt. Stanislavsky and naturalism would not be invited here. Her voice was a powerful contralto, she spoke with feel-

Mr. Hart, an NR senior editor, is author of the new book *Smiling Through the Cultural Catastrophe: Toward the Revival of Higher Education.*

MEN: BE TALLER!!

TIRED OF BEING SHORT? TRY OUR HEIGHT INCREASING SHOES FOR MEN. UP TO 3" TALLER. OVER 100 STYLES.

HIDDEN HEIGHT INCREASER. IN BUSINESS SINCE 1939. MONEYBACK GUARANTEE. CALL OR WRITE TODAY FOR FREE CATALOG.

www.elevatorshoes.com

ELEVATORS®

RICHLEE SHOE COMPANY, DEPT. NR1N
P.O. BOX 3566, FREDERICK, MD 21705

1-800-343-3810

FOUNDED 1964 TRADITIONALIST CATHOLIC MOVEMENT CTM INC

Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.

If you cannot physically attend a TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS, the next best thing is to join one spiritually by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.

Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing from her toes up, and on her recordings she sounds rather British; her enunciation of syllables was razor sharp, no slurs. She was a grand diva who almost brought Vassar to its knees, breaking rules at will and attracting a devoted cult following of young women who joyfully went to bed with her. She was a heroine to the entire student body. As soon as she was out of Vassar, however, she put aside the lesbianism; consigning girls to the past, she now sought to dominate men.

And if I loved you Wednesday,
Well, what is that to you?
I do not love you Thursday,
So much is true.

And why you come complaining
Is more than I can see.
I loved you Wednesday,—yes—but
What is that to me?

Hmm. On Epstein's showing I doubt that she ever loved anyone except her mother, Cora (a highly intelligent but somewhat flaky woman). Vincent was once in bed with three men, serially, on a single day: "What lips my lips have kissed" indeed. She did not love; she needed to be adored. She was a woman of the theater, and the bed was one of her stages. All of her pathological behavior in this regard must have required exceptional coldness of heart. Epstein's account of her is very troubling: A reasonable person would not have chased this woman around Macdougal Street. Indeed, he wouldn't have touched her with a 20-foot pole. Edmund Wilson was smart to bail out early. This was an entirely self-regarding Circe who turned men into swine. She was not a lesbian; she was a thespian.

But she could write, and Epstein knows this and can demonstrate her strengths. In substance she combined eroticism, though of a rather icy kind, with classical verse forms that Catullus would have admired:

We were very tired, we were very
merry—
We had gone back and forth all night
on the ferry.
It was bare and bright, and smelled
like a stable—
But we looked into a fire, we leaned
across a table,
We lay on a hill-top underneath the
moon;
And the whistles kept blowing, and
the dawn came soon.

I wonder if there is a theatrical quality about her verse that damages it. A poem about intimate relations should not sound as if it were being declaimed from the stage. Maybe she should have turned down the decibels. I want to reserve that judgment.

Her last phase was just awful. One thinks immediately of Wordsworth's famous lines in "Resolution and Independence": "We poets in our youth begin in gladness; / But thereof come in the end despondency and madness."

A wealthy and gentlemanly importer named Eugen Boissevain took her over and behaved as a sort of nurse or keeper. He believed her a great poet and a treasure of civilization. He bought them an estate in Austerlitz, N.Y. in the Berkshires, and didn't interfere with her sexual affairs. Her consumption of drugs and alcohol was astonishing; through habituation, she was able to take usually lethal dosages of morphine.

There was a void within her that could not be filled. In Epstein's account, she became desiccated and self-emptied. Her beauty withered. To get right down to it, she was not likable: She represents not, as some claim, women's liberation, but rather a woman's obliteration. One morning, she was found broken and dead on the stairs of the mansion. She had fallen down the stairs, no doubt drunk or drugged, and broken her neck. She was 58.

Safe upon the solid rock the ugly
houses stand:
Come and see my shining palace
built upon the sand.

That is spirited, even beautiful. But there's a lot to be said for steadiness and normal affection, and intensity does not exclude decency. That is the sad lesson of the fine poet, Edna Millay. **NR**

Jackie, Oh!

JAY NORDLINGER

An aging diva has to ask some hard questions: When to retire? How much decline to accept? When to quit opera? How long to hang on in song recitals? What to sing?

Of course, different divas come up with different answers. Beverly Sills determined not to sing a note past 50 (though she agreed to a "Jingle Bells" with President Reagan). Leontyne Price bowed out of opera in 1985, then gave song recitals until 1998, when she was 71. (She came out of retirement just the other week, to participate in a benefit concert at Carnegie Hall for a World Trade Center fund. Someone had said, "It would be good to get someone like Leontyne Price." Someone else had replied, "Why not Leontyne Price?") The Italian soprano Magda Olivero went on for something like forever, and never really embarrassed herself.

As for Marilyn Horne, she wrote in her 1984 autobiography, "I have a deal with Marty Katz [her longtime accompanist]. He's promised to let me know when I'm no longer singing the way he and I know I want to sing. If I go on too long, blame Marty."

Who knows what kinds of conversations she has had with Katz? Horne is now 67, and she seems to be "retired from classical music," as the press clips have it, but she occasionally gives a kind of pops recital (to coin a necessary phrase). She gave such a recital on October 13 at little Converse College in Spartanburg, S.C. The diva in twilight tends to like to appear in out-of-the-way places (although Converse has a distinguished music program): Leontyne Price gave her last recitals in smallish venues, often on college campuses. Her very last recital—full recital—was in Chapel Hill, N.C., and it was attended by none other than Marilyn Horne: one American treasure paying tribute to, and soaking up the last notes of, another.

Now, Horne is almost universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest singers not just of her own time, but of all time. In her decades as a performer,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Jackie" (to use her nickname) set standards that are nearly impossible for others to reach. So how she spends her last professional years is of some interest. Mainly she busies herself with the Marilyn Horne Foundation, which is devoted to the nurturing of young singers, and of the song recital. She gave a master class at the Juilliard School last January, when she had a nasty cold and had injured her leg or foot, forcing her to use a cane. She told the students, "I was worried that I would come looking like the dowager voice teacher. Then it hit me: I *am* the dowager voice teacher!" But she has some of that historic voice left, she has loads of wisdom and musicianship, and she has what just may be an undimmed yen to perform.

Fortunately for her, she has always had an affinity for American popular music (meaning, by and large, folk songs, patriotic songs, and show tunes). She did much of her growing up in southern California, and she is encyclopedic about the popular culture—certainly the musical aspect of it—of an earlier, better era. After all, here's someone who was the (dubbed) voice of Dorothy Dandridge in the movie *Carmen Jones*, the "black version" of Bizet's opera *Carmen*—not bad for a chubby-cheeked white girl born in Bradford, P-A.

At Converse College, Horne presented a program made up chiefly of Gershwin, Jerome Kern, Cole Porter, and Irving Berlin. In collaboration with her was the Broadway arranger and all-purpose music man Don Pippin (Katz's services are no longer required, apparently). Horne is still recognizable as herself: that is, she sounds like Marilyn Horne, and often does some Horne-like things in her singing. It's sort of like seeing a beautiful woman who is well on in years: The face is still recognizable, but it has wrinkled and otherwise changed. We may delight in seeing that face, but at the same time we may be a little sad (and even ashamed of being so).

Horne was miked—she, one of the greatest vocal projectors in history. That itself was a jolt. She kept up a patter with the audience, revealing that well-loved personality: witty, bright, engaging. She treats these show tunes essentially as art songs, according them a dignity, and, of course, keeping her own dignity. It's a bit hard to hear her sing flat—the Horne intonation was always unshakable—and she suffered some most un-Horne-like wobbles. But her breathing is still a marvel, and model, and she remains one of the great singers in English—enunciators of English—ever.

This time, too, she was fighting a cold, but she never mentioned it, and worked easily around it. She had on stage with her a glass of water, remarking that she had always envied cabaret and lounge singers for the water they had by them. And now she could indulge! Her "In the Still of the Night"—once a favorite encore of hers—was shimmering and thrilling. "Over the Rainbow" was slow, delicate, and exquisite, the best treatment I, for one, have ever heard accorded this song (sorry, Judy). "Georgia" was southern, soulful, and well nigh definitive (sorry, Ray). A graceful "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" showed the difference between Horne and Eileen Farrell, the great soprano who spent the last portion of her career as a jazz singer: Horne applies her classical knowledge and standards to these . . . well, standards; Farrell performed in a separate jazz style. Each is irreproachable.

Listening to Horne in South Carolina, it was clear that she could still sing proper recitals—classical recitals—if she wanted to. She has plenty of voice, plenty of technique, plenty of range. She could begin with some not-so-taxing Baroque pieces, continue with some not-so-taxing lieder or other art songs, throw in a manageable opera aria or two, and *then*—in the last quarter or third of her program—go pops. But this is the life she has evidently chosen for herself at this stage. Eileen Farrell declared, through a song, "I Gotta Right to Sing the Blues." And Horne certainly has a right to do whatever she desires—and she does it beautifully. And yet, as you listen to her, you can't help thinking, with a cringe, *Marilyn Horne is doing a lounge act.*

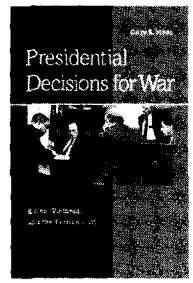
As she talked to the audience, Horne made frequent mention of her age, and of age generally. These questions are plainly on her mind. Toward the end of the evening, she said, "As I've gotten older, I've realized, more than ever, that you never want to 'phone in' a perfor-

Books for Our Times

Presidential Decisions for War

Korea, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf

Gary R. Hess



"The basic conception for this book is a stroke of genius . . . Hess gives a fine sense of how various pressures operated to shape both a president's decision for war and the way in which the decision was carried out. The book is genuinely comparative, frequently drawing parallels and showing what one president learned from his predecessors. Hess's evaluations are always thoughtful and measured."—David W. Levy, University of Oklahoma

The American Moment
Stanley I. Kutler, Series Editor

$17.95 paperback

The United States and Pakistan, 1947–2000

Disenchanted Allies

Dennis Kux

"Kux's book offers a clear guide to the ever-changing fortunes of U.S.–Pakistan relations. The book is a must-read for anyone who seeks to understand the complex U.S.–Pakistan relationship and the role of this troubled relationship in the region and the world beyond."
—Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering

Woodrow Wilson Center Press

$22.95 paperback

Origins of Terrorism

Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind

edited by Walter Reich

new foreword by Walter Laqueur

"Pursue[s] the pathology of terrorism through the centuries . . . A fascinating amount of information."—*Washington Post*

Woodrow Wilson Center Press

$18.95 paperback

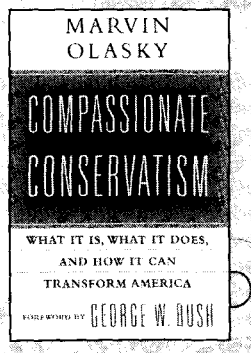
The Johns Hopkins University Press
1-800-537-5487 • www.jhupbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mance, because it just may be your last." She thanked the audience—touchingly—for "accepting what we [meaning herself and Pippin] are doing up here." She acknowledged—again touchingly—"I may never appear here again." Then she sang "Always" and a magnificent, utterly convinced "God Bless America." Then she waved goodbye.

The question of when and how to exit is a haunting one, and has no absolute answer. Some—to switch fields for a moment—have cringed over the last ten or fifteen years to see Arnold Palmer (another small-town Pennsylvanian) still trudging on the Senior Tour: this great champion, finishing last behind scores of relative hacks. And yet he loves it, and his fans (the bulk of them) love it, begging their man not to retire, simply to let them see him, and cheer him. Marilyn Horne has made her decisions, and will make more. As for myself, I feel some discomfort—as I have indicated—in seeing and hearing "Jackie" in this new incarnation. But really, honestly, I—and lots of others—would pay to hear her cough in a nursing home. **NR**

LISTEN TO WHAT YOU'VE BEEN MISSING


MARVIN OLASKY
COMPASSIONATE CONSERVATISM
WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT DOES, AND HOW IT CAN TRANSFORM AMERICA
FOREWORD BY GEORGE W. BUSH

Thousands of audiobooks to choose from—Politics, Economics, Philosophy, and other Conservative Non-Fiction and Fiction, too. More than any other unabridged publisher. Authors such as **WILL, KIRK, BUCKLEY, O'ROURKE, MISES, RAND, SOWELL, PERCY, & MORE.**

For a Free Catalog with a $6.00 Off Coupon Inside write or call: Dept NR • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland, OR 97520

1-800-729-2665

www.blackstoneaudio.com

BLACKSTONE AUDIOBOOKS

RECORDINGS THAT INSPIRE, EDUCATE, ENTERTAIN

■ DELECTATIONS ■

Shakespeare, Shaw & Co.

LINDA BRIDGES

NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, Ontario, with its tree-lined streets and turn-of-the-last-century architecture, is an obligatory stop for busloads of garden-club members and Japanese tourists. The Prince of Wales Hotel is named for an earlier visitor, the future King Edward VII. And for the past four decades, Niagara has drawn growing numbers of theatergoers to its summer festival, dedicated to George Bernard Shaw and his contemporaries—which, given GBS's longevity, encompasses quite a slice of 19th- and 20th-century theater. The Shaw Festival turns 40 next year, and for more than half its life it has been under the direction of Christopher Newton, who will step down at the end of this season.

The Shaw did plenty of fine things before Newton took over, but he expanded it tremendously, in terms of size and, more importantly, range. He rediscovered authors who had been forgotten for decades—Harley Granville-Barker, for instance, who proves to be somewhere between a Shaw without the puppet strings, and a Galsworthy with wit. Another rediscovery is Oscar Wilde—not forgotten, to be sure, but thought of as the author of one brittle and brilliant play, *The Importance of Being Earnest*. Whenever Wilde tries to go beneath the surface, the capsule criticism had it, as in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, *An Ideal Husband*, and *A Woman of No Importance*, he plunges into melodrama. In fact, by playing them absolutely straight, Newton and his team have found the real drama in these melodramas, without losing an ounce of the cleverness.

That is the key: play it straight. The Festival has succeeded by turning away from our era's reflexive irony and meeting the works on their own terms. Its few failures have come when it has ignored this precept and, for example, played *Saint Joan* as what one reviewer called "Saint Joan of Bosnia," or turned Peter Pan into Mick Jagger.

This last season of Newton's is less ambitious than some, but there are two fine Shaw plays, comparative rarities—*Fanny's First Play*, in which a tart, a suffragette, a butler, a French officer, and the boy-next-door trade Shavian social commentaries, to the bewilderment of their middle-class elders; and *The Millionairess*, based just loosely enough on Shaw's friend Lady Astor to avoid losing her friendship. And then there is *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, Kaufman and Hart's tale of a 1930s radio superstar, Sheridan Whiteside, stranded in the wilds of Ohio.

Whiteside starts out as a perfect monster, outrageously rude to his hosts, his loyal secretary, and his doctor and nurse. Gradually, through his conversations, by phone and in person, with his worldwide network of friends and protégés, ranging from Gertrude Stein to a trio of prisoners, we realize that what he is is a witty, charming overgrown two-year-old, whose understanding of friendship boils down to: Want! Love you! Give me! Many fine comedians have been afraid to play Whiteside to the hilt, but the Shaw's Michael Ball fits into his skin so perfectly that even if you've seen Ball in dozens of other roles (including the effete aesthete Waldo Lydecker in this year's mystery, *Laura*) it is hard to remember that he is acting.

■ Halfway across southern Ontario, the Stratford Festival's 49th season offers a dazzling menu ranging from *The Sound of Music* to *The Seagull*, from *The Merchant of Venice* to *Private Lives*. But the big event is *Henry IV* Parts 1 and 2 and *Henry V*.

The weekend I saw the Henry trilogy, one of the waiters at Rundles restaurant remarked that he had gone to high school with Graham Abbey, who plays Prince Hal/King Henry V. It occurred to me later that the two of them surely weren't even freshmen the last time Stratford did all three of these plays. If we needed a reminder that, as one of Noel Coward's characters puts it, "Everything passes, even time," here it is. Richard Monette, now the Festival's artistic director, was Hal in 1979–80; Stephen Russell, Hotspur then, is now Hotspur's ally, the sorcerer Owen Glendower; Lewis Gordon, the 1979 Falstaff, is now the doddering Justice Shallow.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Actors age and fashions change. The earlier productions were set securely in the 15th century. In the interim, Stratford inexplicably acquired a supply of World War I uniforms and helmets, which have been used in everything from *King John* to *Antony and Cleopatra*. Sure enough, here they are again, though mixed with more traditional costumes. Did we really need that nudge in the ribs to tell us that these plays are saying something universal?

At one time, the prevailing view of Prince Hal was pretty grim: He was a heartless schemer, leading poor old John Falstaff on and then betraying him. Hal does say things that can be read this way ("My reformation, glittering o'er my fault, / Shall show more goodly, and attract more eyes, / Than that which hath no foil to set it off"). But Abbey, like Monette before him, gives us a Hal in keeping with the whole text, a Hal who is growing weary of the gluttony and guzzling of Eastcheap but who is reluctant to trade it for his father's self-regarding notions of duty. As for the Fat Knight, Douglas Campbell brings him to life with all his gusto, wit, and irresponsibility. Come to think of it, Falstaff is another charming outsized two-year-old.

There is such a temptation to squeeze these big, messy, glorious plays into a hornbook lesson. During patriotic times, we were to see Henry V as indeed "the mirror of all Christian kings," focusing on his courage and glossing over his petulance and wrath. When Christian kings fell out of favor, contrarians tried to make Falstaff the moral center of the plays—never mind his contempt for his poor recruits, for veracity, for anything besides his own desires. The simple truth, as Shakespeare knew, is that the truth is seldom simple. We can delight in a character without admiring him, or admire him without admiring everything he does. We can relish Falstaff's ever more outrageous fables about the Battle of Gadshill without accepting his catechism on honor. We can thrill to "Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more," without approving of Henry's treatment of the soldier who argued with him unawares. Art's duty is to arrange life without simplifying it. That is what Shakespeare pre-eminently does. So, each in its own way, do these two sterling theater companies. **NR**

■ CITY DESK ■

Culture Clash

RICHARD BROOKHISER

New York Times obituaries, along with the *Times*'s wedding announcements, are the last American titles of nobility: the class distinctions awarded by professional egalitarians. If you are Hector Average or Maury Middle, you get a single line, like a stock price, when you go to your reward. The little biography, sometimes with a photograph, is reserved for what Joseph Conrad called "one of us."

Not since September 11. Nobly, the *Times* has run ten to twelve obituaries a day, for all the dead of the World Trade Towers—firemen, cops, vice presidents, keypunchers, dishwashers at Windows on the World. They are now all of ours; they have become the soulmates we never knew, but whose common personality we instantly recognize from their newsprint eulogies—on the job at 9 A.M.; racially profiled for their identity as Americans; killed for the crime of going to work. I know people who feel an obligation to read every tribute; I know others who stop after one or two, for sheer sorrow. Among the saddest are the obits of the young women—just married, or just engaged, or waiting until they meet Mr. Right. They come from places like Exurb in states like Flatlandia. One young lady was reported to do a "happy dance" in which she held her arms over her head and shouted "Woo-hooo!" Young ladies were doing that happy dance even when I was that age.

So I asked myself: Would Ali the Terrorist have liked to date an American girl? You bet. Could he actually have done so? No way. But he could do the next best thing—he could kill her.

This thought was prompted by another phenomenon: the unusually mild and beautiful late-summer weather in which

THE OFFICIAL *NR* T-SHIRT

Cool.
Comfortable.
Conservative.
100% Pre-shrunk
Heavy Cotton.
Only $15.95.
Extra shirts $11.
Sizes S-XXXL.

One shirt $15.95. Extra shirts $11 each.
Special offer: No shipping/handling charge.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Number of shirts: _____
Shirt sizes: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
* Total payment $ _____
* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION
(required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW

2. Publication Number: 374-120

3. Filing Date: October 2, 2001

4. Issue Frequency: Bi-weekly except only one issue in January

5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 25

6. Annual Subscription Price: $59.00

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

7A. Contact Person: Jason Ng

7B. Telephone: (212) 849-2829

8. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Edward A. Capano, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Editor: Richard Lowry, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Managing Editor: Jay Nordlinger, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

10. Owner: National Review, Inc., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; William F. Buckley Jr., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None

13. Publication Title: NATIONAL REVIEW

14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: October 15, 2001

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average no. copies of each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total Number of Copies	179,972	176,000
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation		
1. Paid/Requested Outside-County Mail Subscriptions Stated on Form 3541	150,427	146,866
2. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Non-USPS Paid Distribution	14,458	12,522
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation	164,885	159,388
D. Free Distribution by Mail		
1.Outside-County as Stated on Form 3541	2,120	6,810
E. Free Distribution Outside the Mail	522	372
F. Total Free Distribution	2,642	7,182
G. Total Distribution	167,527	166,570
H. Copies not Distributed	12,445	9,430
I. Total	179,972	176,000
J. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	98%	96%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership: Will be printed in the November 5, 2001, issue of this publication.

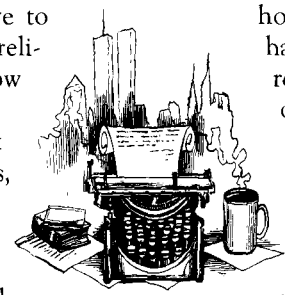
17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including civil penalties).

(signed) Jason Ng, Circulation Manager, Oct. 2, 2001

the attack occurred, and which bathed the aftermath. It is cool now, but in that warm spell, New York girls greeted the sun with their midriffs, their many navels flashing like little black-eyed Susans. Had Thuggy ogled such bouquets on his way to flight school?

All the TV Arabists assure us that the pious murderer believes that, when he ascends to heaven, he will be greeted by seventy sloe-eyed virgins. A weird vision of heaven, compared to Dante, Milton, or even the cloud-islands of *New Yorker* cartoons. But hold that thought for another day: We don't have to speculate on our enemies' religious opinions, for we know that they got a jump-start on their reward in this life. At least one of the hijack crews, we have learned, went to a gentlemen's club before their debut in paradise, and engaged the attentions of lap dancers. These hardened professionals, with surgical enhancements and refried hair, are a poor simulacrum for the American girl, but that's the best strange young men with accents like syrup could come up with on short notice, and they took it. Soldiers, of course, have ever done thus. But that should tell us something about these soldiers, whom we have been led to believe are different.



Everyone knows that established Muslim rulers are hypocrites, especially the Saudis; the minute they leave home they grab for forbidden fruit: pork, champagne, blondes. Every New Yorker has seen Muslim royalty, out on the town. My view was of a Bruneian prince, celebrating New Year's with an entourage and a roll of natural-gas revenue. He was taking pictures with a solid-gold camera; the booze flowed like cant. But aren't our murderers holy men? Yes, and no. They hate what they think of as degeneracy. But they also want it, and their wanting makes them hate it all the more. Add the normal erotic attraction of the Other, especially when the Other represents a superior civilization, and a poisonous mix is brewed.

No doubt the Gay Moment in American and New York culture also excites the repulsion and the desire of some holy killers in the same fashion. One man-in-the-street interview in the *Times* quoted a Pakistani who said he had heard a prophecy that, before the end of the world, men would dress as women. What would such a madrassah-*bocher* think of Wigstock? But no one has to cross an ocean to find gays. Like any polygamous society, the Arab world has been a great breeder of homosexuality. "The men were young and sturdy," wrote T. E. Lawrence in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, "and hot flesh and blood unconsciously claimed a right in them and tormented their bellies with strange longings. Our privations and dangers fanned this virile heat . . ." Lawrence honestly recorded how his Arab comrades behaved. But what he could not recognize, tormented by his own longings, was that there was nothing unconscious or strange about their behavior. As it was during that world war, so it is in this.

New York's enemies did not come from some premodern inverted Arcadia. They knew our world; their noses were pressed against the candy-store window as flat as anyone else's, and they wanted the candy just as much. They just wanted to destroy the store. It is tempting to ascribe to the evil some of the virtues that they often claim for themselves. We would not do what they do, whatever the wickedness of our imaginings. Isn't that partly because we lack their idealism? Their singleness of purpose? Their dedication? Poets have been ringing tiresome changes on the virtues of vice since Shelley misread Milton; thinkers have been doing it since Machiavelli. The truth is simpler. Terrorists have all our foibles; they just want to murder lots and lots of people.

One of the first conversations I had after September 11 that did not mention the attack was with a young black man, working in a shop, who was admiring my wife's earrings; she had found a pair of New York skylines in which the Trade Towers still stand. He went on to say that he would be voguing Mariah Carey that weekend. "She's been having trouble with her weight, so I'll be slimmer. She'll be *so mad* at me!" I marveled at the strange notions people entertain. Mariah Carey is unaware of his existence. Besides, she is a woman; doesn't he want to look like Arnold Schwarzenegger? But in the shadow of Ali, the lustful and murderous, I thought, You go, girl. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS ■

CORDLESS PHONES

DISCOUNT MULTIHANDSET CORDLESS PHONES by Siemens, Panasonic, EnGenius long-range. www.sellcom.com. Mention NATIONAL REVIEW for free gift.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

BIBLICAL JOURNALISM. Christian, are you interested in being a journalist? The World Journalism Institute has a number of journalism credit courses scheduled throughout the year in New York City, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, California, and Asheville, North Carolina. Check us out at www.worldji.com. We may be Right for you.

FINANCIAL

International Currency Market

Is your 401(k) performing under par?

How many more times do interest rates have to be cut before they have an actual effect on equities?

To what abysmal level must the value of your investment portfolio decline before you take action?

Now is the time to consider investing in the international currency market, the largest and most liquid investment in the world.

For more information, call 877-881-1800, or 908-431-7725

FRIENDSHIP, ETC.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049 or www.singlebooklovers.com

MEET LATING WOMEN! Mexico–South America. Free fotobrochures! 713-896-9224. www.tlcworldwide.com

HOTELS

AN ALL-SUITE PROPERTY WITH THE MOST CONVENIENT ADDRESS IN WASHINGTON, DC - One Washington Circle

- Ideally located in historic Foggy Bottom
- Two blocks from the metro
- Walking distance to Georgetown, the White House, and easy access to the Hill

With a level of commitment and service that brings our guests back from all corners of the globe, time and again.

Special rates for NATIONAL REVIEW readers

One Washington Circle, N.W. • Washington, DC 20037
Reservations: 800-424-9671
Fax: 202-887-4989
www.onewashcirclehotel.com

LITERARY

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK
One of the most respected subsidy publishers in the nation is accepting manuscripts for quality publication & promotion.
Write: Ivy House, Dept. NR, 5122 Bur Oak Circle
Raleigh, NC 27612 or call 1-800-948-2786
IVY HOUSE
Publishing Group

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

BECOME A PUBLISHED AUTHOR. Quality subsidy publisher accepting manuscripts. 800-695-9599.

PERSONAL

SINGLE WHITE FEMALE, 48, 5'10", beautiful, with opinions. Looking for Howard Roark or John Galt. Prefer action over rhetoric. No hypocrites please. NR Box 2447.

RELIGION

LOOKING FOR AN ORTHODOX CHURCH with Biblical preaching and sacramental worship? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

TRAVEL

ITALIAN SPECIALISTS. Customized itineraries for individuals, corporate and leisure groups. Toll Free: 877-637-2661. Merano Tours.

WEBSITES

ChronWatch.com—new website dedicated to attacking the ultra-liberal bias of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM is challenging liberal mythology with the simple unvarnished truth.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"To Be a Pilgrim—WFB's Visit to Lourdes" ($1)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling)

Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
(Specify Selection)

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O.Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

Display Ads: Minimum 1 inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box ____, c/o Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by first-class mail.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.

Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: Nov. 6th & 20th; December 4th.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Killing bin Laden Won't Do

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 5

TUESDAY'S report was that the Bush administration had persuaded United Nations officials in New York that Osama bin Laden was indeed responsible for September 11. And the next day's feature was that there is a discernible enfeeblement of the Taliban government, while warning that the northern dissidents have a way of exaggerating good news, desiring the political effect of it—which is to suggest that the protectors of bin Laden are on their last legs.

All of which requires us to meditate on the centrality of bin Laden. Suppose that, tomorrow, his life ended. Whether by suicide, assassination, or execution. Suppose, then, that the Taliban government, holding up for the world to view the severed head of bin Laden, were to say: Well, here you are. Kindly return to your secular pursuits and call an end to your hysteria.

While it is true that bin Laden has served as the incarnation of the evildoing of September 11, we know that an end to his life would not mean an end to his movement. The people who have cheered on bin Laden are, most of them, in the streets of Islamic capitals, others in furtive retreats about the world, in the 50 countries in which it is estimated the terrorists lurk, hiding and plotting. Something more than the head of bin Laden is required to short-circuit the grid that binds the terrorists in their envious, fanatical designs on the free world. What is needed, surely, is the head of Saddam Hussein. He is more than the symbolic enemy of the West. He is the historical aggressor in that part of the world, aggressor against Kuwait, dogged and impenitent cultivator of apocalyptic weaponry.

Mr. Bush and his team have as difficult an assignment as has ever faced any great country, to wit, the pursuit of an impalpable enemy. It isn't like a war against a foreign capital, army, navy, or imperial outposts. It is more like a war against a microbe: Find it first, then attempt to destroy it. If you can find the matrix, kill it. If there are matrices, find them, kill them. The principal matrix is Saddam Hussein.

We have the enormous advantage of the cautious blessings of Moscow. Mr. Putin smiles on the cooperation of Uzbekistan with our secretary of defense. Russia has had a hideously expensive firsthand experience with the attempt to conquer, or even to subdue, mobilized opposition as in Afghanistan, separatist opposition as in Chechnya. And the Pakistanis need relief from their own extremists, seemingly anxious to link arms with bin Laden.

But if he is gone, link arms with whom?

The defense against the extremists goes beyond bin Laden. We need to guard against any sense of sufficiency that might delude the West with his elimination. That is why the vector of American military and economic effort should bring Saddam Hussein to the crosshairs of our effort. September 11 was nothing more than a little excursion manipulated by Osama bin Laden, never mind what we told them up at the U.N. It was the pustulation of an international movement, the most discernible feeding ground of which is in Saddam Hussein's Baghdad.

Professor Galbraith Looks On

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 28

HE is the most famous economist alive, and—to the regret of friends of liberty and prosperity—the most influential. Nearing age 93, John Kenneth Galbraith is a little hard of hearing, and greets his visitor with resignation. After all, what is shut out from his hearing is not all that important, inasmuch as he has had the last word on everything in the great span of years that took him from farmer's son in Ontario to Ph.D. at Berkeley to journalism for Henry Luce to his professorship at Harvard and king of the world in his profession.

Oog invents the market correction.

"I have a new book for you."

"Oh?"

"It is called *The Essential Galbraith*."

"Ah. Short book?"

He smiles defiantly from the armchair he is now confined to.

"Not so short."

It is a collection of essays drawn from his huge lifework. He has written short editorial introductions to each one of them. About "The Valid Image of the Modern Economy," from the volume *Annals of an Abiding Liberal*, he writes: "A more technical and in some respects more precise statement of this theme was in my presidential address to the American Economic Association in 1972. The latter, I am not quite alone in believing, is the best short account of my general economic position."

That is the year—1972—in which Galbraith scaled the heights of his profession, and the year in which he persuaded Sen. George McGovern to run for president of the United States. The two campaigns failed. George McGovern won two states, and the socialism of John Kenneth Galbraith ran into the real world, which, with however many compromises, said No thanks, and turned instead to Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

At his old large house in Cambridge, where, with his learned and beautiful wife, he has lived lo these many years, he reflects on odd moments in his career, and on an unbumpy way to affluence. "Did you get paid well when you were a writer for *Fortune* magazine?" his visitor asked. "Paid well! What was it, Kitty, twelve thousand dollars per year, correct?" She nods. "That was a fortune in 1936."

He went then to Harvard where, still in his 20s, he drifted into a reception for university trustees. "One of them gave me a drink order," he laughed. He was there when President Roosevelt appeared at the ceremonies marking the 300th anniversary of Harvard. "Joe Kennedy—he was the brightest of the Kennedys—brighter even than Jack. Young Joe knew that the great majority

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Harvard graduates were in favor of Landon for president, and that their ideological loyalty prevailed over their judgment. So young Joe went around taking bets. He made enough money from Landon loyalists to buy an automobile!"

Did Galbraith's colleague Joseph Schumpeter also profit from journalism? "No. He was always broke. And opinionated. You know, back then, anybody offered a job at Harvard was really *summoned* to Harvard—nobody else could compete. Paul Samuelson's name came up for a professorship and Schumpeter *vetoed* him. I talked to Samuelson and he said, 'You know, I wouldn't have minded Schumpeter's blackballing me, because I'm a Jew.' Everybody knew that Schumpeter was an anti-Semite. 'He blackballed me because he knew I was smarter than he was.'"

Ah, prejudice. And look now, he said, at the religious people in the Mideast.

His visitor objected that religion was getting a bad rap. "You shouldn't condemn religion because people profane religion by invoking it to serve evil ends, right?" He affected not to hear, and chatted about his early years. He was the eldest of four Galbraiths, and after draining the family resources to go to college, undertook to finance the education of the younger siblings, on his way to eminence. Prime Minister Trudeau, who ruled over Canada for 15 years, superintending a drop in the Canadian dollar of 25 percent of its value, told the world that his economic policies were based on the work of John Kenneth Galbraith. "Do you know, my book on the Great Crash sells more than all my other books combined? Whenever there is a blip in the market, people say, 'I wonder what Galbraith had to say about the Depression?'" He once told the visitor that he kept *The Great Crash* at his bedside and when suffering from insomnia, reread a chapter or two, closing his eyes finally with blissful gratitude. "That son of a b**ch can really write!"

The old man is so self-confident he doesn't, in his latest book, even bother to list the titles of his other books. He deals that way with honorary degrees, stopping to list them, in *Who's Who*, after 20 or so. "My only rule in the matter is to have more honorary degrees than Arthur Schlesinger."

And his legacy? The introduction to one of his essays reads, "Thirty-five years after [the original essay] was written—years that have included Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and now George W. Bush and Dick Cheney—Adam Smith remains undiminished in the scholarly eye and, as here told, is by no means the exclusive possession of conservatives."

Nor is Galbraith venerated exclusively by liberals.

So You Want a Holy War?

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 2

WHATEVER is or is not authentic transcription of Islamic dogma, we do know that the people who ran the airliners into the World Trade Center believed that a Koranic voice was telling them to do what they did. We have the four-page document that told them not only what to do, but what to think. "Kill them, as God said: No Prophet can have prisoners of war."

They would not cavil, their clerical dispatcher knew, but even so there was a reiteration of the sacredness of their mission. "Recognize what God has prepared for believers in endless happiness for martyrs. Be steadfast and remember [that in] God you will be triumphant."

Here is a strategic suggestion from the Western high command. Declare in full voice that Islam is widely profaned and mistaught. That if it isn't—if the Koranic high exegetes are paralyzed with doubt whether such as the Ladenites are true to their faith—then the faith being practiced must be disavowed by the legitimists. Say as much, and say also that the Western world is prepared to denominate the imposters as such and to call for a restoration of a Muslim religion consistent with civilized conduct.

We have done such a thing in the political world. Without using the language of excommunication as such, what we got around to doing in the postwar world was to exclude Communism as an acceptable model for the organization of political life. We did this because, by our experience with Communism in practice and by the exercise of reason, we judged it incompatible with irreversible advances in human behavior. When finally the United States abolished slavery, the word went out: No more. No Christianity *cum* slavery. One or the other.

We have now Islam to deal with. We do not need to make the point that its political and economic record is miserable, that only one of 18 Muslim states (Turkey) is democratically governed. The Taliban has taken unmarried women detected in pregnancy and buried them to neck level before execution. Where is Islamic condemnation of such practices? For that matter, where is condemnation of Saudis chopping pickpockets' hands off?

We read of the mobs in Karachi who denounce the United States and flaunt signs that call out to "CRUSH AMERICA." In a pinch, we have to gamble. Perhaps human nature isn't reliably self-interested enough to prefer liberal democracy to protracted tyrannical misery. But we have to hope that the raw instinct is there to welcome relief. There were Kuwaitis who prostrated themselves with gratitude to liberating GIs, even as there are millions of Afghans who flee the wretched world of their Muslim oppressors, where they have been kept alive by American food shipments to Afghanistan and bank now on American food shipped to Pakistan, where they will reasonably hope that before America is entirely CRUSHED we will have stored enough food for them and their children.

It is thought to be a sign of toleration to defer to Islam as simply another religion. It isn't that. It is a form of condescension. Carefully selected, there are Koranic preachments that are consistent with civilized life. But on September 11 we were looked in the face by a deed done by Muslims who understood themselves to be acting out Muslim ideals. It is all very well for individual Muslim spokesmen to assert the misjudgment of the terrorist, but the Islamic world is substantially made up of countries that ignore, or countenance, or support terrorist activity. Mustafa Kamal Uddin, a 32-year-old body-and-fender man in Karachi, explained it to a *New York Times* reporter. You see, he said, holy wars come about only when Allah has no other way to maintain justice, times like now. "That is why Allah took out his sword" on September 11.

We demand to know: Who taught Mustafa Kamal Uddin to reason in that way, and the crowds in Karachi to support such thinking? Pending an answer to the question, and the unmistakable assumption by reputable Muslims of the responsibility to extirpate such misteaching, renounce modern Islam. Either restore the proper Allah—or get ready for a holy war.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

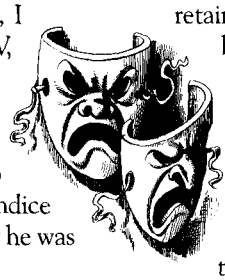
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

SHOULD we, can we, ever laugh again? This is the question of the hour, but at the risk of sounding unpatriotic I must admit that I already have—out loud, in fact.

What led up to it was the 653rd discussion of anti-Arab profiling I was watching. Unable to stand any more earnest tributes to color-blind diversity, I turned off the TV and went to the library in search of escapist fare. Needing something to take the pluribus out of the unum, I chose a biography of George V, the present queen's grandfather, who was beset by inept physicians. The worst was Lord Dawson, who is said to have treated a patient for jaundice for six weeks before discovering he was Chinese.



After I wiped up the coffee and changed my clothes it was time to turn on the TV again to see if something new had happened while I was escaping. One of the ubiquitous stress mavens was saying, "I worry most about the ones who haven't started processing the event," and recited the symptoms we should all look for: "irritability, distrust, pessimism, and withdrawal." Since her checklist describes my natural state, I have no way of telling if I'm stressed, but she needn't worry about my willingness to "process events." I call it thinking, and I get paid for it.

The most satisfying thought I've had is that Rudolph Giuliani has rescued us from our adolescent definition of popularity and given us a new appreciation of the individual who "wears well." Abrasive, truculent, aloof, impatient, and blunt, Giuliani was for years a walking compendium of all the traits Americans try to conceal or stamp out to ensure that nobody, anywhere, ever feels "threatened" by us. To this end, we have adopted the fixed smiles and galumphing friendliness of the simpleminded, and taken pains to deny the existence of dark moods with the state-of-the-art boast, "What you see is what you get," which is nothing more than shallowness redefined, another way of saying that if you tap a popular American, all you will get is an echo.

We have painted ourselves into a corner in an everlasting high school of the spirit, but now Giuliani has shown us that what you get is not always what you see. As an amazed America watched, this tense, unappealing man took on the grace of a courtier, the subtlety of a cardinal, the finesse of a diplomat, and the gentle wisdom of Mr. Chips.

It's too soon to tell whether we will retain the lesson—we usually don't—but at the moment, thanks to Giuliani, complexity is in and it's cool to be deep.

The news that fighter pilots will be given authority to shoot down hijacked commercial jets was received with grim acceptance, but the public's stoicism won't last. Americans have heard too much about "human error," as it's politely called. From the doctor who cuts off the wrong leg, to the pharmacist who fills the wrong prescription, to the Marine pilot who accidentally severed the cable on the Italian ski lift, we inhabit the Age of Oops and everybody knows it. Moreover, we have seen so many insane military men in movies that we will soon start imagining some Great Santini is up there just waiting to open fire on us. Finally, there's the little matter of our new, improved, kinder 'n' gentler military. If the order is ever given, I doubt that today's fighter pilots could bring themselves to do it—all that sensitivity training would come home to roost.

I never travel but I do breathe, so I have considered the threat of bio-chem warfare and come to the following conclusions.

If I were young I'd be scared, but as it is, I find the idea liberating. I'd rather go out now in a dramatic epidemic, à la my beloved medieval England, than live on to die by degrees in a nursing home. It would free me from my dread of encroaching frailty, loss of independence, cheerful nurses urging me to play bingo, and lumpenpsychologists without a shred of insight who have the temerity to assume they can "counsel" a writer. Equally intolerable is the thought of standing in line for inoculations amid hysterical throngs of Great American Moms all screaming "Jason!" I was vaccinated for smallpox and diphtheria before starting school, but, lucky me, it's worn off by now.

Speaking of phartlings, I was surprised to read that a security checker at L.A. International actually searched a baby and its stroller. She must have remembered the scene in *GWTW* (the book, not the movie) when a Yankee cavalry unit appears at Tara, and Scarlett hides her money in Melanie's baby's diaper. It's ingenious; babies are a good hiding place and we are emotionally incapable of persevering in the practice of searching them. They also offer even deadlier possibilities to terrorists who have psyched us out. I would not be surprised if they stole a baby, infected it with a contagious disease, and abandoned it in a crowded public place, knowing full well that Americans who come upon a lost baby will cluster around it, get close to its face, and take deep breaths to give them the wind they need to raise repeated choruses of "Awwwww."

President Bush's plea to get back to normal has been crowned with success. The idiocies have begun:

Blockbuster Video is putting warning labels on its terrorism movies, but shows no signs of changing its own name.

We have a new redundancy to go with our new crisis; Watergate gave us "this point in time" and now 9/11 has given us "credible threat." If Giuliani reverts to his old personality we can call him "credibly threatening."

We have also produced a supreme irony. While the news throbs with stories about the stereotyping of Arab-Americans, a FedEx commercial shows a lantern-jawed CEO asking his executives for suggestions on saving money. A chinless minion replies, "We can open an account with FedEx Dotcom and save ten percent on online shipping," then trails off with an apologetic shrug. Lantern Jaw thinks a moment, and then repeats exactly what Chinless Wonder said, but in a firm voice accompanied by a confident gesture that garners plaudits all round.

Message: Bad guys have weak chins. **NR**

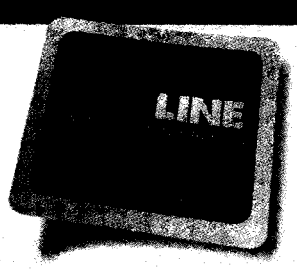
Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEY'LL STAY DRY AND COMFORTABLE, NO MATTER WHAT LIES AHEAD.

Dryline® uses push-pull moisture-transport technology to draw perspiration from the skin to the garment surface, where it evaporates. Its unique combination of nylon, polyester and spandex stays dry and comfortable, no matter what lies ahead.

Looking for ways to compete in a changing market? Make sure your apparel sports our hangtag. For more information, call 864.503.2654.

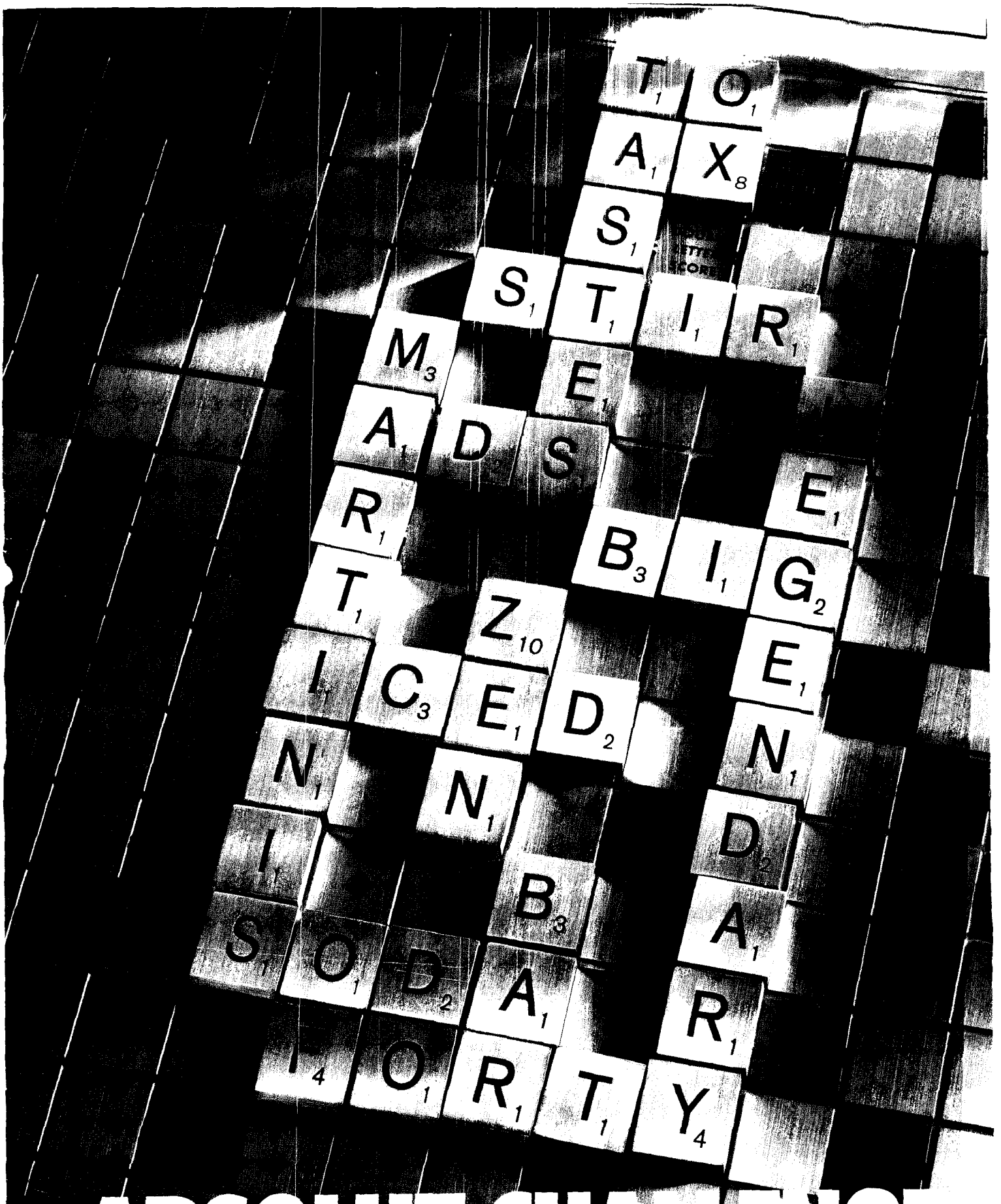


Comfort that Boosts Performance.

MILLIKEN ©2000 Milliken & Company. Dryline® is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics.

01CWD100

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ABSOLUT CHALLENGE.

ABSOLUT VODKA. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN, ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY AND ABSOLUTVODKA.COM ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. © 2000 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY. SCRABBLE® & © 2000 HASBRO IN THE U.S. AND CANADA.
PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE BRONSTEIN. ENJOY OUR QUALITY RESPONSIBLY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED